

HISTORICAL PAPERS AND ADDRESSES

OF THE

LANCASTER COUNTY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XV

1911

THE CHRISTIANA RIOT AND THE SLAVERY
QUESTION PRIOR TO THAT EVENT
AND SUBSEQUENTLY.

LANCASTER, PA.

1911

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BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JANUARY 6, 1911.

“History herself, as seen in her own workshop.”

THE GENERAL POSITION OF LANCASTER COUNTY
IN NEGRO SLAVERY.

MINUTES OF JANUARY MEETING.

IN MEMORIAM.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1911.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

LIBRARIAN'S REPORT.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

VOL. XV. NO. 1.

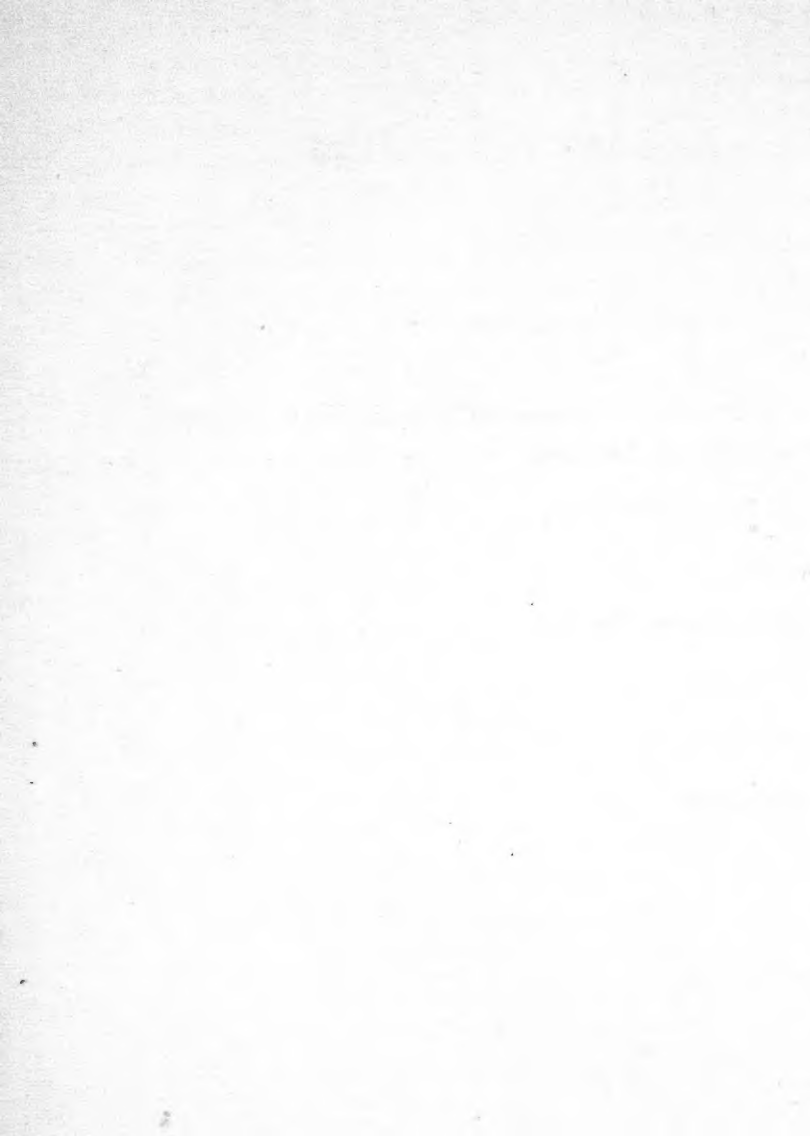
PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY.

LANCASTER, PA.

1911.

The General Position of Lancaster County in Negro Slavery.

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The General Position of Lancaster County in Negro Slavery.

Slavery, in its various forms, has come down to us from the regions of dim antiquity. Its prevalence in Western Europe was a certainty, predestined that it should taint the new civilization soon to take root and spread in the Western hemisphere. It is most natural, therefore, that our own thirteen colonies did not escape this traffic; but it is sad to note the awful price they had to pay to remove the evil once established, that price—humanity.

Portugal began the African slave trade in modern Europe and America, bringing slaves from the west coast of Africa for the markets of Europe as early as 1444. About 1500 her operations in that trade had grown to greater proportions, extending to the Spanish possessions in the West Indies. One by one, the other countries of Europe included the slave trade in their commerce until even the English colonies in America took up the trade. The first slave ship fitted up in American waters is supposed to have sailed from Boston in 1646.¹ Negro slaves had been, however, imported into Virginia in 1619, where, in 1670, they numbered 2,000.² Objection to slavery began on our good old American soil in 1695, but the English merchants, for the sake

¹Introduction to 1860 Census, p. 14.

²Introduction to 1860 Census, p. 14,

of the large profits they were getting, smothered quickly all objection. Many years later objection again arose, this time in a stronger and more effective form. Virginia in 1772, Delaware in 1776, Connecticut in 1777, attempted to stop the slave trade, and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania followed their example in 1780. All the Northern States by 1799 were trying to free, by law, their slaves, except New Jersey. By their continued persistency the Government of the United States abolished slavery in 1807. This measure, while a step in the right direction, was but a small help, for the following figures will show the relative proportions and increase of free colored persons and slaves from 1790 to 1860:¹

	Free Colored.	Slaves.
1790	.....59,466	697,897
1800	.....108,395	893,041
1810	.....186,446	1,191,364
1820	.....233,524	1,538,083
1830	.....319,599	2,009,043
1840	.....386,303	2,487,455
1850	.....434,449	3,204,313
1860	.....487,970	3,953,760

Pennsylvania's part for and against slavery began before 1700. Under the Duke of York's laws, which extended into Pennsylvania about 1676, no slavery was allowed in 'he province,⁴ but this evidently carried little weight, for the Mennonites protested against slavery in 1688, and Benjamin Franklin, in an old pamphlet dated 1693, states that George Keith, leader of the Keithian Quakers, wrote a paper against it, which had been so ordered by the Quaker meeting. Franklin further states that in 1728 he printed a book for Ralph Stanaford against

¹Introduction to 1860 Census, p. 9.

⁴Duke of York Laws, 12.

negro slavery, and in 1736 another book on the same subject for Benjamin Lay.⁵ Protest and protest continued, and so did slavery. Conviction points a steady finger at Pennsylvania when these early items come to light. A Spanish vessel, in 1703 brought slaves to Pennsylvania,⁶ and the following year, 1704, Antonio Carica was decided not to be a slave,⁷ although the same year the Sheriff sold Joseph Cloud's servant boy as a slave.⁸ In 1705 a law was proposed to prevent Indians being brought into the provinces and sold as slaves.⁹ In 1706 a law was passed which prohibited the congregating of more than four negroes in one place.¹⁰ The same year a head tax of forty shillings was placed on imported negroes,¹¹ and there was great complaint of large numbers of negroes in Philadelphia working for cheaper wages than the white people.¹² Two slaves were condemned to death for burglary in 1707.¹³ England demanded statistics of the slave trade of Pennsylvania in 1708.¹⁴ In 1712 came a long petition by Pennsylvania against importing negro slaves,¹⁵ and the same year an act to prevent importation.¹⁶ Three years later, 1715, a tax of £5 was put on each slave,¹⁷ which brought forth strong objection from the merchants of the African Slave Company.¹⁸ The Penns, in 1718, tried to break up negro slavery,¹⁹ perhaps to some small

⁵Hazard's Register, p. 145.

⁶ Colonial Records, 112.

⁷ Colonial Records, 120.

⁸ Colonial Records, 140.

⁹ Votes of Assembly, Part 2, 54.

¹⁰ Statutes at Large, 236.

¹¹ Statutes at Large, 235.

¹² Votes of Assembly, Part 2, 132.

¹³ Colonial Records, 105.

¹⁴ Penna. Archives, 152.

¹⁵ Votes of Assembly, 110.

¹⁶ Statutes at Large, 433.

¹⁷ Votes of Assembly, 160.

¹⁸ Votes of Assembly, 175.

¹⁹ Statutes at Large, 552.

purpose, for in 1726 young negroes were to be set free, according to the votes of Assembly,²⁰ and in 1730 six negroes imported were sent back.²¹

Edward Biddie, in an address delivered before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, August 7, 1826,²² discussed fully Pennsylvania's efforts to suppress slavery before 1770. This address was given at a time when there were a hundred or more slaves in the State. It may seem plausible to suppose that our Pennsylvania people, while fighting for their own independence, were led to feel that all people should be free, changing therefore their attitude towards slavery. On the 7th of September, 1778,²³ an act was passed providing that all persons resident in Pennsylvania and who have at any time since July 4, 1776, imported or brought into the State any negro or mulatto slaves for sale, or for his own family service, should, within three months, make an entry with the Collector of Customs in each county, and pay certain duties on the said slaves, and, where there is no Collector, to make return to the Clerk of the Court of Quarter Sessions and pay the duty; and, on failure to do this, forfeit the price of the slave, or if the slave had run away to pay the value to the Government. Better still, more far-reaching and effective, was the Act of Assembly of March 1, 1780,²⁴ for the abolition of slavery in Pennsylvania. Whether slavery would have continued to grow as in the Southern States had not the act been passed is a question. This act abolishing slavery shows how powerful a law is, especially when it operates upon an insti-

²⁰2 Votes of Assembly, 217.

²¹3 Votes of Assembly, 100.

²²10 Hazard's Register, 327.

²³9 Statutes at Large, 275.

²⁴10 Statutes at Large, 67.

tution in its infancy. It is conceivable if each of the Southern States had passed similar laws shortly after the Revolutionary War, following Pennsylvania's example, that slavery in the South would have been wiped out as peacefully as it was in our own State; unless the laws should have been violated, this would have been the result. The Pennsylvania law begins by an introduction calling attention to the abhorrence of our former condition as slaves of Great Britain, and of our miraculous deliverance, and the hopelessness which would have been our lot otherwise, had not independence given us a divine gift of freedom. It then continues, setting forth that we should be impressed with this sense of freedom, should extend it to others, and release from the state of thralldom these inhabitants that are in servitude because of their difference in feature and complexion. Quoting from the act: "All persons, as well negroes, mulattoes and others, who shall be born in this State after the passage of this act, shall not be considered servants for life, or slaves. That no children because of their having been born of mothers who were slaves should remain slaves, but that such slavery in said children shall be extinct and shall be abolished." The statute also enacts that every person who shall be the owner of a negro or mulatto slave within this State shall before the first day of November, next, deliver in writing to the Clerk of the Peace of the county the name, surname, occupation and profession of himself and also the names of any such slaves, together with their ages and sexes set forth, which particulars the Clerk of Quarter Sessions shall enter in a book to be provided. If the owner of the slave or slaves fail-

ed to make this required return by November 1, said slave or slaves should be free.

In Hazard's Register,²⁵ it is stated that Pennsylvania was the only State north of the Maryland line in which the slaves increased during the ten years from 1820 to 1830, but this statement later was proven to be untrue. However, it gained much headway, and severe criticism fell to Pennsylvania's lot. The census of 1820 showed 211 slaves for the State, while the census of 1830 showed 386. This apparent increase spread public alarm, and caused the Senate of the State to make an investigation in 1833.²⁶ Excitement relative to this was not confined to Pennsylvania, but had spread generally through the States of the North, New York in particular, and especially in her newspapers, which demanded to know why slavery was increasing in Pennsylvania when it had disappeared entirely from the New England States. The Senate committee found that the figures of 1830 were wrong. The census enumerators had counted children as slaves, under ten years of age as well as over, though, according to law, they could not be counted as such. Instead of 386 slaves in Pennsylvania in 1830, there were hardly more than 100. In 1835 the slavery question was fiercely agitated in the State, and at Music Fund Hall, in Philadelphia, some very fiery speeches were made against it.²⁷ A table of figures published in the Pittsburg Gazette of slaves in the State gives 3,737 for 1790, 1,706 for 1800, 795 for 1810, 211 for 1820 and 386 for 1830, but this is the mistake already referred to.

Lancaster county had its individua

²⁵9 Hazard's Register, 270.

²⁶11 Hazard's Register, 158.

²⁷16 Hazard's Register, 188.

part to play in slavery, as well as in other things, and, while judgment is suspended, yet the figures for each decade show that our county in some cases had more slaves than her sister counties, and that we belonged to one of the last slave centers in the State. The earliest slavery in the county was that of the Five Nations Indians enslaving the Susquehannocks and other local Indians after they had conquered them, about 1675. On account of the various acts, protests and items already mentioned, which occurred in the early part of 1700 in Pennsylvania, it is no doubt true that Lancaster county had some part in those proceedings, and that negro slavery was in progress in our county at that time. In 1730 appeared in the Pennsylvania Gazette a list of servants who had run away from their masters in Lancaster county, but there is no evidence to prove that they were negro slaves. The only authentic count of the number of slaves in our county is what is given us by the first, second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth census reports, the numbers in their relative places being 384, 178, 44, 21, 55, 2.²⁸ The decline in the number of slaves was due to two causes. One cause was that slave labor was not as profitable here as in the South. The other cause was the sentiment against it, which showed itself in the act of Assembly of March 1, 1780. The first census, 1790, puts York county at the head of the list in slave numbers with 499, Philadelphia county next with 387, Lancaster county next with 348, then Franklin with 330, Fayette with 282, Bucks with 261, Cumberland with 223, Chester with 145, and Berks with 65. At the time of the second census, 1800, Lancaster

²⁸Census Reports, Congressional Library.

county was again in third place, though the number of slaves had been greatly reduced in all counties, Cumberland excepted. The receding slave figures seem to emphasize the effect of the 1780 law. York county's number went from 499 to 77, Philadelphia county from 387 to 85, Lancaster from 348 to 178, Franklin from 330 to 181, Fayette from 282 to 92, Bucks unknown, Cumberland from 223 to 228, Chester from 145 to 46, and Berks from 65 to 19. Dauphin county had 93. Cumberland county proved the exception to the rule, her slave figures increasing from 223 to 228, and then in 1810 to 307, which at that time meant nearly one-half of all the slaves in the State, for the only counties then that had over fifty were Adams, Fayette and Franklin. After an interval of twenty years, 1830, slavery had disappeared in some of the counties, but in others it was dying a slow death. Fayette is credited with 89 slaves, Lancaster with 55, Adams with 45 and York with 26.

This left two slave centers, the Allegheny and Fayette region, and the Lancaster, Adams and York region.²⁹ Ten years more, and there was no slavery in Lancaster county. The census report at the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., attributes two slaves to us in 1840, but upon close examination of the original 1840 report from Lancaster county at the Census Bureau, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, it shows these two supposed slaves to be very old females, free, colored, who, perhaps, preferred to remain in their old places because of kind masters. There was no column provided for slaves, as in the previous reports, but these two females were found in

the last column of free colored, one being over a hundred years old, and living with Henry Prestbury, of Little Britain township, and the other one, just under a hundred years, living with Abraham Kirk, of Drumore township. When slavery was at its height in our county in 1790, we find among the slave owners all the good old names of Lancaster county. The original report is in excellent condition, the writing is not only distinct, but well done, and, for general appearance, it is much better than some of the later reports. The owners, with the number of slaves in their possession, are:

Lancaster Borough—Mathias Slough, 3; Adam Reigart, 1; Joseph Simons, 2; Frederick Kuhn, 1; Paul Zantziner, 2; Jacob Bailey, 1; Jacob Krug, 1; John Bausman, 2; Michael Musser, 2; gaol of the county, 1; Frederick Anspach, 2; Frederick Weidley, 1; Gerhart Bubach, 1; John Miller, 1; John Joade, 1; Robert Reed, 1; James Jacks, 1; Willm Montgomery, 1; Josiah Lockhart, 1; Peter Hoofnagle, 1; Joseph Hubley, 2; James Ross, 1; John Jordan, 1; John Graff, 1; Charles Hamilton, 1; John Hubley, 1; Henry Dering, 1; George Lush, 1; Jacob Reiger, 2; James Cunningham, 1; Thomas Edwards, 4; Jasper Yeates, 1; Alexander Scott, 3; Leckey Murray, 2; Samuel Boyd, 3; George Ross, 3; John Okeley, 2.

Lancaster Township—Andrew Graff, 1.

Manor Township—Not any.

Hempfield Township—Widow Moore, 2; Robert Spear, 2.

Martie Township—Wider Beavens, 5; Samuel Clark, 3; John Boyd, 1.

Drumore Township—James Moore, 2; William Bigham, 2; William Ritchie, 2; James Bigham, 1; William McIntire, 7; Archibald Aniom, 2;

Thomas Neill, 2; James Morrison, 4; Hugh McIntire, 2; Robert Maxwell, 4; John Evans, 4; James Maxwell, 1; William Steel, 1; Vincent Stubbs, 1; Oliver Caldwell, 1; William Porter, 6; David Braden, 2; James Arbuckle, 2; Alexander Ewing, 1; Widow Frazier, 1; George McCullough, 3; Maj. I. Scott, 4; William Gibson, 4; John Evans, 4; Widow Ewing, 2; David Montgomery, 2; James Patterson, 3; Stephen Long, 1; Robert McClellan, 1; Alexander Scott, 2; Thomas Patterson, 1; Robert Johnson, 1.

Colerain Township—Not any.

Strasburg Township—John Wither, 1; Michael Wither, 1; Isaac Ferree, 1; William Reynolds, 1; James Kenney, 1; Alex. White, 1.

Lampeter Township—John Rorrer, 1.

Earl Township—Andreas Yund, 1; Nathan Ellmaker, 2; Gabriel Davis, 2; Widow Evans, 2; Jacob Weidler, 1; Jacob Glasser, Jr., 1; James Martin, 4; James Thompson, 1; Philip Wise, 1; Robert Walis, 4; Adam Stark, 1.

Caernarvon Township—Jas. Evins, 5; Joshua Evins, 6; David Jenkins, 4; William Willson, 3; Henry Sherk, 1; Adam Zell, 1; William Evans, 1; Nathan Evans, 1; David Old, 2; James Old, 4; John Evans, 1.

Brecknock Township—Not any.

Leacock Township—Alex. Bear, 2; Adam Woods, 1; Robt. Hamilton, 3; James Ramsey, 2; Adam Lightner, 1; Joseph Rutter, 1; William Crawford, 1; David Watson, 3; Alex. Caldwell, 2; Daniel Huston, 1; Wm. Porter, 1.

Manheim Township—Jacob Wilhelm, 1.

Warwick Township—Cyrus Jacobs, 5; Samuel Jones, 2; James Edison, 4.

Cocalico Township—Not any.

Bart Township—John Richards, 1; John McClure, 1; John Smith, 1; Elizabeth Ramsey, 1; James Willson, 1.

Sadsbury Township—Jahn Baily, 1; Nathan Thompson, 2; Joseph Walker, 2; Robt. Williams, 1; William Gray, 1; John Johnston, 2; Geo. Leach, 1; James Nobel, 1.

Salisbury Township—John Whitehill, 1; Matthew Henderson, 3; James Henderson, 1; Isaac Atlee, 1; James Hamilton, 2; Abigail Culbertson, 1; Samuel Lasey, 1; John Midleton, 1; Peter Somers, 1; Henry Overly, 1; David Whitehill, 1; Daniel Buckley, 1; Leonard Ellmaker, 1; Geo. Leach, 1; James Kennedy, 1; James McColly, 3; Peter Bines, 1; James Oscher, 1; George Thompson, 1; Wm. Boyd, 2; Isaac McCammon, 1; John Armer, 1; Robert Smith, 3; Wm. Hamilton, 1; Archibald Henderson, Jr., 1; Archeld. Henderson, 1; John Hopkins, 1; Archd. McCurdy, 4; James Anderson, 2; Wm. Richardson, 1; Thos. Sleman, 2; Jas. Henderson, 1; John Brisben, 1.

Elizabeth Township—Robert Coleman, 1.

Rapho Township—Samuel Jacobs, 2; Hugh Pedan, 2; Benjamin Mills, 1; Widow Little, 2; James Corran, 1; Samuel Paterson, 1; John Hays, 1; Widow Patterson, 1.

Mount Joy Township—Colin McFarquahar, 2; William Moore, 2; Thos. Robinson, 2; William Bole, 1.

Donegal Township—Bartram Galbreath, 1; John Baily, 5; James Anderson, 2; David Cook, 2; John Whitehill, 1; Alex. Lawry, 2; James Bayley, 2; Richard Kayes, 1; Samuel Cook, 3; James Cook, 2; John Haldeman, 1; Brice Clark, 2; John Whitehill, 3; John Watson, 1; William Clingan, 3; Michl. Nicholas, 2.³⁰

As to the question of the previous nationality of the slave-holders at this

³⁰Correct copy from original report of the census of 1790, Census Bureau, Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C.

time, the Scotch-Irish element comes prominently to the front. Almost two-thirds of the 194 owners were of Scotch-Irish descent, the remainder being English and German. The number of German slave-holders was noticeably small in proportion to the large number of Germans in the county. The census of 1800 places 178 slaves to our credit, but on looking over the list twice it was impossible to find but 175, the owners of which are:

Donegal Township—James Work, Esq., 1; (name torn away), 1; (name torn away), 1; Brice Clark, 2; Thomas Bailey, 1; Samuel Cook, 1; Richard Keys, 2; Bartram Galbreath, 1; John Bayley, 2; James Anderson, 2.

Maytown—Rev. Colin McFarquer, 3; Widow Dorcas Buchanan, 1.

Part of Elizabethtown in Donegal—Rubin Armstrong, 17; John Hurder, 6.

Mount Joy Township—Thos. Moorhead, 3; Widow Robinson, 2; James Miller, 1; Samuel Jacoby, 6.

Borough of Lancaster—Widow Hubley, 1; John Bausman, 1; John Miller, 1; John Bomberger, 1; John Hubley, Esq., 1; James Ross, 1; Jasper Yeates, 1; Jacob Krug, 1; Adam Reigart, 1; Paul Zantzinger, 1; George Ross, Esq., 2; Jennet Cunningham, 1; George Musser, 1; John Jordan, 1.

Earl Township—Cyrus Jacobs, 2.

New Holland Village—John Wallace, 1; John Thompson, 1.

Caernarvon Township—John Patton, 3.

Churchtown—Davis Old, 1; William Eavans, 1; John Evanas, 1; Joshua Eavans, 4; James Eavans, Sr., 3; Jas. Eavans, Jr., 2.

Elizabeth Township—Robert Coleman, Esq., 1.

Lancaster Township—Abraham Kendrick, 1.

Lampeter Township—Edward Hand, 1; James Crawford, 1.

Sadsbury Township—Widow Bishop, 1; Nathan Thomp, 1.

Salisbury Township—James Henderson, 1; Matthew Henderson, 2; James Clemson, Esq., 1; Margaret Slemmons, 1; James Anderson, 1; John Yeats, 1; Isaac McCalmond, 1; William Boyd, Esq., 1; Archibald Henderson, 1.

Warwick Township—Not any.

Little Britain Township—Andrew Porter, 2; Vincent Stubbs, 1; Alexander Scott, 1; Ann Black, 1; Thomas Patterson, 1; James Patterson, 1.

Drumore Township—William Reed, 1; David Evans, 2; James Bains, 1; Robert Wallace, 1; Daniel Morrison, 1; Robert Steen, 2; Robert King, Esq., 1; Robert Maxwell, 1; William McIntire, 3; James Morrison, 3; William Calhoun, 1; William Ritchey, 2; James Moore, 2.

Colerain Township — Patterson Bell, 1.

Leacock Township—John Pinkerton, 1; William Porter, 3; John Chote, 1; Joseph Rutter, 1; William McCausland, 1; Hugh McGunny, 1; David Watson, 2.

Manheim Township—Michael Beydler, 1.

Cocalico Township—John Komman, 3.

Strasburg Township—John Ferree, Sen., 1; Nathaniel W. Sample, 1; Michael Withers, 2; John Withers, 1; Isaac W. Vanleer, 1.

Martic Township—Henry McElroy, 4; John Rabsony, 1.

Bart Township—Andrew Work, 1; John McClure, 1; William Ramsey, 1.

Rapho Township—Peter Petersen, 1; Henry Grubb, 2; John Hays, 2; John Padon, 2; Arthur Patterson, 1; Widow Lyttle, 3.

Brecknock Township—Not any.

Conestoga Township—Henry Breneman, 1; Jacob Barr, 1; Tobias Stemen, 1.

Manor Township—James Armstrong, 1.

Hempfield Township—Not any.²¹

Slavery had disappeared from three townships in 1800, from seven townships in 1819, and from nineteen townships in 1830. The slave-holders of 1810 are:

Elizabeth Township—Margaret Hildebrand, 1; Robert Coleman, 2.

Cocalico Township—Not any.

Brecknock Township—Not any.

Warwick Township—Samuel L. Geets, 1; Canibert Coleman, 2.

Rapho Township—Arthur Patterson, 1; Ann Little, 1; Henry B. Grubb, 2.

Mount Joy Township—Jean Robinson, 2.

Donegal Township—Brice Clark, 2.

Earl Township—Cyrus Jacobs, 1.

Strasburg Township—Not any.

Salisbury Township—James Henderson, 1; Jacob Wylie, 1; David Henderson, 1; Amos Slaymaker, 1.

Sadsbury Township—Not any.

Caernarvon Township—James Jacoby, 1.

Bart Township—John Withers, 1.

Colerain Township—Not any.

Lancaster Township—Not any.

Manheim Township—Gerhard Buchach, 1; John Walker, 1.

Lampeter Township—Dr. Leckey Murray, 1; James Crawford, 1.

Conestoga Township—Henry Dietrich, Jr., 1.

Drumore Township—Dr. James Ankrim, 1; Wm. Ankrim, 1; Robt. Maxwell, 1; David Evans, 1.

Little Britain Township—James McSparran, 1; John Scott, 1; James Patterson, 1.

Manor Township—Not any.

Leacock Township—Nathaniel Watson, 1; Robt. Hamilton, 1.

²¹Same as census of 1790.

Martie Township—Edward Brian, Esq., 1.

Hempfield Township—Peter Livergood, 1.

Borough of Lancaster—Widow Musser, 1; John Hubley, Esq., 1; Widow Scott, 1; Widow Miller, 1; Jacob Krug, 1; Samuel I. Atlee, 1; Jasper Yeates, Esq., 1.³²

The census of 1820 was so badly constructed and poorly written that it would be a hard task to obtain a list of slave-owners for that period. The report in print (at the Library of Congress) calls for twenty-one slaves in the country. They were distributed as follows: One slave in Cocalico township and in Elizabeth township. George Coleman had six and James Coleman had six. No slaves were registered for the city of Lancaster. The borough of Columbia was credited with five female slaves and the remaining three were in the section including the borough of Manheim and Donegal, Rapho, Mount Joy and Warwick townships. The census of 1830 is clear and concise, even though it is not correct, this census being the one that gave such figures as to cause the other States of the North to ask why slavery was increasing in Pennsylvania. It is here that the Lancaster jail sets a good (?) example by being the largest slaveowner in the county, having four males under thirty-six years and one under fifty-seven years. Although the number, fifty-five, is not correct, as proven, yet it can be conceded that the supposed slaves were living with the persons whose names appeared as owners in the census report. They stand as follows:

Lancaster Township—Not any.

Lancaster City—Lancaster Jail, 5; George Musser, 1; John F. Steinman,

³²Same as census of 1790.

2; Peter Bargheiser, 1; George L. Mayer, 1; John Graeff, 2; Richard Graeff, 2; James Hopkins, 1; Abraham, Carpenter, 2; John Getz, 1; Edward Parker, 1; Emanl. Reigart, 1.

East Donegal Township—Frances Boggs, 4.

Borough of Marietta—John Guy, 1; Alexander Boggs, 1.

Maytown—Jacob Barr, 1; John Clark, 1.

West Donegal Township—Not any.
Elizabethtown and Mount Joy Township—Not any.

Martic Township—John Frazier, 1; George Smith, 2; James Prichet, single, 1.

Conestoga Township—Elizabeth Detrich, 1; Henry Crise, 1; Solomon Robinson, 2.

Little Britain township, not any;
Drumore township, not any; Brecknock township, not any; Caernarvon township, not any; Cocalico township, not any; Leacock township, not any; Salisbury township, not any.

Earl Township—Samuel O. Jacobs, 1.

Colerain township, not any; Columbia borough, not any; Washington Borough, not any; West Hempfield township, not any; East Hempfield township, not any; Warwick township, not any.

Elizabeth Township—James Coleman, 3; Andrew Jack, 1; Benjamin Mooney, 2.

Lampeter township, not any; Sadsbury township, not any.

Rapho Township—H. A. Grubb, 4; Alexander Patterson, 1.

Manheim Township—Jacob Rohrer, 1.

Strasburg Township—Geo. Withers, 1; Samuel Hawthorn, 1; John Lightner, 1; David Shork, Jr., 2; Daniel Leffer, 1.

Bart township, not any; Manor township, not any.³³

Slavery had ceased to exist by 1840, the two old female slaves excepted, which was undoubtedly an error in the final count. In 1850, our county had 3,614 free colored and in 1860 the number was smaller, 3,459.³⁴ Considering the number of slaves within our borders at various times, and our nearness to the Southern States, it is surprising that there was so little trouble and litigation connected with them. The only case of prominence was the famous Christiana riot. An important case in Montgomery county was taken to the Circuit Court of the United States in 1822 for decision. A slave named "Jack" had absconded from service in another State and had come to Mr. Johnson, the question being Mr. Johnson's right to the slave.³⁵ Relics and traditions of slavery are passing away, as the institution itself did. It is going far back to say that about the time the Martie Forges began, as early as 1750 or 1755, slaves were used to help operate them, but the tradition exists that this was the case, and that there was near by, at Mount Nebo, a slave grave-yard. There was a time when some old stones were pointed out as a reminder of the spot, but they, also, have passed from view, and our county stands to-day better and grander—without slavery—than in the days when it tolerated human subjugation.

³³Same as census of 1790.

³⁴Census Reports Congressional Library.

³⁵11 Hazard's Register, 337.

Minutes of January Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., Jan. 6, 1911.

The first meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society for the year 1911 was held this evening in the Society's room in the Smith Library Building. President Steinman presided.

The annual report of the Librarian, Mr. Charles T. Steigerwalt, was read by the Assistant Librarian, Miss Lottie M. Bausman.

Miss Bausman also submitted the monthly report of the Librarian, which detailed the following donations and exchanges:

American Catholic Historical Researches for January, 1911; Pennsylvania-German for December, 1910; Linden Hall Echo, December, 1910; Kansas Historical Collections, Volume XI., 1909-1910, from the Kansas State Historical Society; Wisconsin Historical Collections, Volume XIX., 1910, from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Bacon-Shakespeare, from Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, London, England; International Conciliation for December; Records of American Catholic Historical Society; Bench of Cumberland County, Pa., 1791-1806; Proceedings of Kittochtingny Historical Society, 1908-1910; Bulletins of Grand Rapids Public Library, Bulletin of New York Public Library, Bulletin of Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh, from Dr. R. K. Buehrle; Souvenir of Sesqui-Centennial of the Warwick Moravian Congregation, September 10-11, 1899; Invitation to Membership in the Plant Club, 1882; Me-

morial Meeting of the Centennial Anniversary of the Death of George Washington, Fulton Opera House, December 14, 1899; Souvenir of Arbor Day, April 16, 1885; Lancaster Microscopical Society, first soiree, October 14, 1881. From family of Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs: Pennsylvania Magazine, 116 numbers, from Volume V. to Volume XXXIV., inclusive; Records of the Past, complete set from Volume I. to Volume IX.; Pennsylvania German, seventy-eight numbers, from Volume I. to Volume XI., inclusive; German-American Researches; Potter's American Monthly, March, 1882; Myerstown, Its Men and Events of the Past, 1906; Lancaster County Indians, H. Frank Eshleman; Extracts, 'Squire Thon's Diary; Index to German Element of Shenandoah, Valley of Virginia; Publication of Pennsylvania History Club; Report of Board of Health, Lancaster, 1908; John Bechtel and His Descendants; the Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies, 1905-6-7-8; Huguenot Element in Pennsylvania; In Our Early Days, Washington County; A Final Word as to Regina, the German Captive; Swatara Coilegiat Institute; Annual Report of Hamilton Library Association, Carlisle, Pa.; Ten Years of the Ohio, 1889 Review; International Position of Japan; Military Government in Newly-Acquired Territory of the United States, 1904; International Conciliation, June and November, 1910; American Local History Catalogue; Papers of Lebanon County Historical Society; Linden Hall Echo; Kith and Kin, February, 1910; Rights of Citizens under Fourteenth Amendment; Government Industrial Arbitration; Life and Character of Jacob Brown, 1909; the Proud Papers; Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the Revolution; American Historical Review; New England History Teachers' Asso-

ciation, 1905; Lancaster Old and New, 1902; Historical Points of Interest Along Strasburg Trolley Road; Lancaster County Historical Society, Volume III, and Volume IV.; Journal of Presbyterian Historical Society; Lancaster County Historical Society papers, complete sets, 1897 to 1911; Dr. Rush's Manners of the German Inhabitants of Pennsylvania; The Three Earls; Early History of the Falls of the Schuylkill, Manayunk, etc.; a History of the Bethany Charge of the Reformed Church in Lancaster County; Chambersburg in the Colony and the Revolution.

The Secretary, Mr. Charles B. Hollinger, presented his annual report, which showed that the Society had a present membership of 227.

The Treasurer, Mr. A. K. Hostetter, presented his annual statement, which showed a balance on hand of \$316.06. On motion, a committee composed of D. F. Magee, John L. Summy and Miss Martha B. Clark audited the accounts and found them correct.

All the annual reports were accepted and ordered filed.

Miss Lottie M. Bausman, the Assistant Librarian, told of the progress being made in cataloguing the library, a work that has entailed great responsibility upon her, and she was highly commended for the excellent progress being made.

Among the donations received were a large number of volumes from the State Library. Mr. Schnerer, of Lititz, presented to the Society a swinging knife used in the flax industry.

On motion, Mrs. F. S. Barr was elected to membership and the following names proposed: Rev. S. C. Enck, Columbia; H. W. Kreibei, Lititz; S. D. Erb, Route No. 1, Ephrata; Prof. H. M. J. Klein, Franklin and Marshall College.

The Executive Committee reported that at a meeting held previous to the session of the Society, it was decided to recommend to the Society the appointment of a committee of three members to take up the question of the proper observance of the Christiana riot, and also the question of arranging for a series of papers on the slavery question to be read before the society during the year. The committee's report included the following letter from Mr. W. U. Hensel:

To the Executive Committee of the
Lancaster County Historical Society:

Inasmuch as I am unable to be present at the meeting of the Society, this evening, I venture to formally communicate for your consideration—and for its action if you approve—some suggestions touching the general work of the Society this year, and its proposed annual celebration of some striking event of local and general historical interest.

The notable success attending the Fulton celebration in 1909, and the County Bi-Centennial in 1910; the great popular interest in local history aroused by these demonstrations, and the credit which has attached to the Society, by reason of instituting and managing them, justify the confidence that at least once a year such a popular celebration can be held successfully.

This idea was reflected editorially by one of the local newspapers some time ago, when it said: "The determination of the Lancaster County Historical Society to give popular and practical expression to its aim and purposes, and to bear annual witness, publicly, to its important and efficient activities, is most laudable.....The

Historical Society does well to take the lead in impressing the material benefits of perpetuating the historical spirit by continuing these celebrations. Next year it promises to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of the famous 'Christiana Riot,' and every year hereafter it will find some event and place in our local history to be thus commemorated. It eminently deserves popular interest and liberal support in the well-doing of this good work."

There are manifold reasons why the proposed celebration of the so-called Christiana riot would be most appropriate this year. It happened September 11, 1851—so that the sixtieth anniversary would occur at a season opportune for an outdoor celebration. Of the different strains of citizenship that entered into our county's settlement, the Scotch-Irish were especially represented in the Fulton Centenary and the Pennsylvania-German in the Bicentennial of the "First Settlement." The large and influential anti-slavery Quaker element would be especially interested in the proposed celebration of the encounter in the Chester Valley. The complete story of this affair, and its relation to the larger events of national significance that later convulsed the county with war, has never yet been fully told; and within another decade most of those who had personal knowledge of it will have passed away.

I am assured of the hearty and liberal co-operation of an influential local committee; and, though the house at which the killing of Gorsuch occurred is obliterated and a sordid spirit of speculation may prevent us acquiring its site, the Society can secure the gift of suitable ground in the neighborhood and within the limits of the

“riot” for the erection of a conspicuous permanent memorial of the event to be commemorated.

I recommend that as a preliminary, a small committee, say of three, be appointed to consider the whole subject and report to the next meeting, a plan of procedure, which shall comprehend the co-operation of a committee of the Society and a local committee of citizens, to appoint a time and place for the celebration, to secure a site for the memorial, to adopt a design and erect a monument; to secure speakers and historians; and especially to promote the attendance of all the survivors and descendants of those who participated in or were present at the affray.

Meantime all the purposes for which the Society was organized, and the popular study of local history, would be promoted if the principal papers to be read and published for the present year were directed with relation to the study of slavery as it existed and as it was abolished in Lancaster county. This would include many phases of the subject, all having absorbing historical and romantic interest, such as: the relative claims of the English Friends and the Swiss Mennonites to have been the earliest abolitionists; the existing conditions of slavery and its gradual extinction under the Pennsylvania statutes; the famous Sewell-Wright episode, in which were involved the right of a Maryland slaveholder to keep his slaves in Lancaster county, the decree of the local Court discharging them, and a running street fight on horseback from Lancaster to Klugh’s tavern; the protest of the doughty Alexander Lowery against the separation of slave families; the story of the old iron masters and their herds

of black slaves; their gradual manumission; the "Gap gang" and other kidnappers, the "Underground" railroad; the bloody resistance to the physical execution and legal enforcement of the fugitive slave law; the entrance of Thaddeus Stevens into Lancaster county politics and the dissensions in the Whig party between the "Silver Grays" and "Woolly Heads;" the early scarcity of Abolitionists outside the Quaker churches; the aversion of the Pennsylvania German to the negro; the causes of special colored settlements and congestion in Columbia; the free negro in Lancaster county before, during and after the war; the decadence or development of the race since emancipation—are a few of the many subdivisions of the general subject which suggest themselves for treatment and discussion. I think capable writers could be found willing to cover them all; and the collected contributions would certainly be a most valuable compendium of this phase of our county's history.

I suggest that Mrs. Marianna Gibbons Brubafer, generations of whose family were conspicuous in the relief of escaping slaves; Miss Evans, of Columbia, whose father had a great wealth of historical data and reminiscence of this period; Mr. Thomas Whitson, of Christiana, whose father was a leading figure in early Abolitionism in lower Lancaster county, and many others could be secured as contributors to the proposed volume. Congressman W. W. Griest, whose father was both an actor in and historian of these stirring days; State Senator W. C. Sproul, whose two grandfathers long resided in the vicinity of Christiana; Mr. Charles E. Pugh, Vice President of the Pennsyl-

vania Railroad Company, whose family long resided thereabouts, have all expressed great interest in the proposed commemoration and pledged it their hearty support. If it be deemed expedient to secure Legislative or Congressional recognition of the affair, the cordial support of Senator Homsher, and of the Representatives of Lancaster county in the General Assembly, I am certain can be assured.

Very truly yours,
W. U. HENSEL.

The report was accepted along with the recommendations.

The following officers, nominated at the December meeting, were elected for the ensuing year: President, George Steinman; Vice-Presidents, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D.; W. U. Hensel, Esq.; Recording Secretary, Charles B. Hollinger; Corresponding Secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark; Treasurer, A. K. Hostetter; Librarian, Charles T. Steigerwalt; Executive Committee: H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., George F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, Monroe B. Hirsh, Miss Lottie M. Bausman, Mrs. Sarah B. Carpenter, John L. Summy, L. B. Herr, Mrs. M. N. Robinson, D. F. Magee, Esq.

On motion, the secretary was directed to draw an order for \$15 for postage for the officers. The rental for two years for the Society's room was ordered paid and the usual appropriation of \$25 to the Librarian was made.

The Society was presented with a handsomely bound volume containing the correspondence covering the recent bi-centenary anniversary. It was compiled by Mr. Steinman, and the thanks of the Society were extended to him for his excellent work.

The paper of the evening was contributed by Miss Lottie M. Bausman. Her subject was "The General Position of Lancaster on Negro Slavery." It was a most carefully prepared essay and elicited much attention.

The Society then adjourned.

In Memoriam.

During the year 1910 seven members of the Society died. Below will be found brief sketches of them:

DR. JOSEPH H. DUBBS.

Dr. Joseph H. Dubbs, who was one of the organizers and a Vice-President of the Society, died on April 1. He was one of the most active members of the Society, and contributed numerous valuable papers to its publications. At the time of his death he was a member of the Faculty of Franklin and Marshall College and was one of Lancaster's foremost historians and scholars. In No. 4, Vol. XIV., of the Society's Proceedings will be found a special tribute to his memory.

DR. JOHN B. KIEFFER.

Dr. John B. Kieffer, who died July 11, 1910, was a member of the Faculty of Franklin and Marshall College. The beautiful college library building was due in the main to Professor Kieffer. He was a warm personal friend of the late General J. Watt DePeyster, and it was through him that the General was induced to provide the funds for the erection of the handsome edifice. Dr. Kieffer was Librarian for many years, and took the liveliest interest in the duties devolving upon him. The deceased was long a prominent figure in local college circles. For fifteen years he had been Treasurer of the Association of the Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and of Maryland. In 1884 he received the degree of Ph.D., from his Alma Mater, Heidelberg College, and on the same day the same degree from Franklin and Marshall College. He was born October 20, 1839.

EVANS W. SHIPPEN.

Evans W. Shippen, a member of the Lancaster County Historical Society, died at his home, at Meadville, Pa., March 31, 1910. The deceased, who was aged eighty-six years, was a member of the noted Shippen family, which figured prominently in the early history of Pennsylvania, and especially of Lancaster city, and members of which are still active in public affairs. He was a son of Henry Shippen, who resided in Lancaster more than seventy-five years ago.

ROBERT J. HOUSTON.

Robert J. Houston, for a time an active member of the Lancaster County Historical Society, died April 11, 1910. He was prominent in the business life of Lancaster for many years, and was

born in Ireland, January 16, 1832. A man of force and strong opinions, Mr. Houston had a natural liking for politics, in which for many years he was a factor in local affairs. In his early career he was a Republican, and in 1868 he was a delegate from this Congressional District to the Republican National Convention at Chicago, which nominated Grant and Colfax. In later years Mr. Houston joined the Greenback party, and in 1866 was that party's nominee for Governor of Pennsylvania. During the memorable election of 1886 for members of the British House of Commons, Mr. Houston assisted in organizing Branch No. 694, of the Irish National League of America, of which he was elected President.

HENRY N. HOWELL.

Henry N. Howell, a member of the Lancaster County Historical Society, died suddenly on June 23, 1910, at Atlantic City, where he had gone to recuperate his health. Mr. Howell was for a number of years the efficient Chief of the Lancaster City Fire Department. In later years he devoted his time to the insurance business. He was born in 1849 and was a son of Major Charles M. Howell.

MISS MARY E. STEINMAN.

Miss Mary E. Steinman, who as a member of the Lancaster County Historical Society took a keen interest in its affairs, passed away on July 14, 1910. The deceased was born in this city, and was a daughter of the late George M. and Eliabeth Myer Steinman. She was a sister of Mrs. George M. Franklin and George Steinman, both members of the Society, the latter being President. Miss Steinman was a member of the Moravian Church, and for many years had been one of its most active workers. In years gone by she was also closely associated with the work of the Dorcas Society. She was a member of the Iris Club. Miss Steinman was closely associated with the city's social affairs in her younger life, and few ladies were better known and none more highly respected.

MISS MARY S. GOODELL.

Miss Mary S. Goodell, a member of the Lancaster County Historical Society, died on August 5, 1910.

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY FOR 1911.

President,
GEORGE STEINMAN.

Vice Presidents,
F. R. DIFFENDERFFER, Litt.D.
W. U. HENSEL, ESQ.

Recording Secretary,
CHARLES B. HOLLINGER.

Corresponding Secretary.
MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

Treasurer.
A. K. HOSTETTER.

Librarian,
CHARLES T. STEIGERWALT.

Executive Committee,
GEORGE F. K. ERISMAN, D. B. LANDIS, H. FRANK ESHLE-
MAN, Esq., MRS. SARAH B. CARPENTER, MONROE B. HIRSH,
MISS LOTTIE M. BAUSMAN, JOHN L. SUMMY, L. B. HERR,
MRS. M. N. ROBINSON, D. F. MAGEE, ESQ.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY.

Lancaster, Jan. 6, 1911.

To the Officers and Members of the Lancaster County Historical Society:

It gives me pleasure to present this, the annual report of the Secretary of the Lancaster County Historical Society. The year 1910, like its predecessor, was marked by wonderful accomplishments on the part of our organization. Lancaster County reached its two hundredth year of existence during the past year, and the event was celebrated by the Society on a scale that befitted the importance of the event. Preliminary to this celebration a committee made a most exhaustive research, in this country and abroad, to establish the true character and place of the first permanent settlement within the confines of the present Lancaster County. This report was presented at the February meeting of the Society and it made one of the largest numbers of our monthly pamphlets yet issued. Acting on this report, a committee was appointed to arrange for the proper observance of this notable event. The exercises incident thereto were held September 8, 1910, and they marked an epoch both in the history of the County and also of our Society. This celebration and the one in the preceding year at Fulton House have done more than anything else to bring the Lancaster County Historical Society to the forefront, not only in our own community, but in the country at large. The full report of this bi-centenary anniversary made another large addition to our annual volumes.

During the year the Society held ten regular meetings and also held the annual outing. Eight specially prepared papers were read during the year, and, while the total of original matter contributed was not as large as the previous year, the volume, No. 14, which closed with the December number, is probably the largest yet issued, it embracing 312 pages. The two reports covering the County celebration should rightfully be included as original research matter.

There was a gain of nineteen new members during the year, bringing the present total up to 227. There were seven deaths during the year.

The Secretary takes pleasure in calling attention to the work undertaken by Miss Lottie M. Bausman, the Assistant Librarian, in cataloguing the library. The work is proceeding finely and in the course of a month the Society will be in possession of a complete catalogue of all its books and various publications. These will then be at the disposal of the members, and the suggestion has been made that the various book-cases should be open at each regular meeting, so that members can have the use of the books. The question of the proper exhibition of the many curios in the possession of the Society should also be given consideration.

Looking to the future, there is every indication of another year of great activity along the lines in which the Society is working. The year 1911 will mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Christiana riot, and it is understood that a series of papers on this important happening will be read during the year. It is also probable that a fitting observance of the famous riot will be held.

Trusting that 1911 will be marked by still greater progress for our Society, I remain,

Very truly yours,

C. B. HOLLINGER,
Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF LIBRARIAN.

Lancaster, Jan. 6, 1911.

In presenting the annual report, the Librarian wishes to apologize for its incompleteness, due, in the early part of the year to the confusion incidental to the removal of the library from one room to another, and later on, to his long-continued and serious illness, preventing personal service.

The removal of the library was accomplished with but slight expense to the Society, as the committee, appointed to assist the Librarian, did most of the detail work.

By naming Miss Lottie M. Bausman as Assistant Librarian, the work was carried on. Under her management and assisted by Miss Alice G. Elmer and Miss Elizabeth J. D. Lant, with suggestions from Miss Skeelee, the long-delayed work of cataloguing the library is well under way and nearing completion. After this is finished, some method will be devised by which the members will be able to use our valuable library to the fullest extent possible. We have many books that are very interesting to the general reader, even if not engaged in research in any special line.

The accessions to the library during the past year have been many, nearly all donations. By purchase, we acquired Prowell's History of York County and six volumes of the Journals of the Continental Congress, bringing the latter up to date as published.

There will be no need of an appropriation to the library at present, as there still remains an unexpended balance from last year's appropriation, the expenditures being as follows:

Received from Society.....	\$25.00
Jan. 26. Paid for moving books and cases.....	\$2.50
Dec. 3. For 6 vols. Journal of the Continental Congress and registration	6.10
Incidentals of expressage, photo. for cut in pamphlet, etc. 2.10	2.10
	<hr/> \$10.70
Balance on hand.....	\$14.30

Respectfully submitted,
CHAS. T. STEIGERWALT,
Librarian.

ANNUAL REPORT OF TREASURER.

Report of the financial condition of the Lancaster County Historical Society, of Lancaster, Pa., for the year ending December 31, 1910:

January 1, 1910, balance on hand.....	\$159.94	
Amount received for admission fees and dues.....	447.30	
Amount received from sale of pamphlets.....	6.75	
Amounts paid by the Treasurer, for which orders were regularly drawn on him, by the President and Secretary and are herewith submitted:		
Chas. T. Steigerwalt, Librarian.....	\$ 25.00	
Printing and stationery.....	174.77	
Mailing pamphlets and dixing.....	41.79	
Prowell's History of York County.....	10.00	
Postage	6.00	
Certificate of deposit	25.00	
Miscellaneous payments	15.37	
Balance on hand December 31, 1910.....	316.06	
		\$613.99 \$613.99

In addition to the above, the Treasurer also submits two certificates of deposit, for \$166.44 and \$25, respectively, bearing interest at four per cent.

A. K HOSTETTER,
Treasurer.

Jan. 6, 1911.

We, the undersigned Auditors, named to audit the account of the Treasurer, as above set forth and as per books submitted, do hereby certify that we have audited the same and find them correct and the balance on hand is \$316.06.

D. F. MAGEE,
JOHN L. SUMMY,
MARTHA B. CLARK,
Auditors.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FEBRUARY 3, 1911.

“History herself, as seen in her own workshop.”

LANCASTER COUNTY'S RELATION TO SLAVERY.

MINUTES OF FEBRUARY MEETING.

VOL. XV. NO. 2.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY.

LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

Lancaster County's Relation to Slavery - - - - 43

BY MISS MARTHA B. CLARK

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LANCASTER COUNTY'S RELATION TO SLAVERY.

PARTICULAR PHASES OF SLAVERY IN LANCASTER COUNTY.

The following interesting contribution to the history of slavery in this county was read before the Lancaster County Historical Society by Miss Martha B. Clark:

Contracts for and Commercial Transactions in Local Slaves.

Some interesting light on the slavery days in Lancaster county is shown in an examination of a number of bills of sale and contracts for and commercial transactions in local slaves. Samples of local bills of sale for slaves show us that they were not distinguished as to terms, etc., from the sale of other chattels. The following is a true copy of one of the earliest to be found in our county:

This Indenture, made the eleventh day of November, Anno domini, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-nine, Between Kirk Ellis of Cecil County of the one part and Robert Anderson of Lancaster County, of the other part, Witnesseth: That the said Ellis for himself, his heirs, Exors. and adms. have bargained sold and set over unto the said Robert Anderson, his heirs, exors. and assigns forever, a negro girl called Eve, about seven years old, to be the real property of the said Anderson and his heirs and assigns forever, for the consideration of Forty-five pounds to me in hand paid, which I acknowledge to have received.

I, the said Ellis, do bind and oblige myself, my heirs Exors. and administrators, to warrant and defend from all manner of person or persons whatsoever claiming or to claim the said negro, the same to warrant and forever defend, to the said Anderson, his heirs and assigns.

As witness my hands and seal this day and year first above written.

KIRK ELLIS (Seal).

Signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of:

ARCH. HENDERSON,

WM. McCAUSLAND.

This slave later came to Brice Clark, for October 10, 1780, when the seven-year-old child became eighteen, in compliance with the law of 1780 for gradual abolition of slavery. Brice Clark made this return to the Quarter Sessions of Lancaster county:

"October 10, 1780.

"Brice Clark, farmer, in Leacock Township and Lancaster County, both a negro woman named Eve aged eighteen years, also a negro boy named Jack aged eight years, both slaves for life.

"BRICE CLARK."

When Eve was twenty-seven years old she had a son, Nat, born to her, whom Brice Clark made return of to Court as required by law as follows:

"Pursuant to an act of General Assembly, I, Brice Clark, of the Township of Donegal and County of Lancaster (Farmer), do enter a negro child born on the 16th day of December in the year One thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, called Nat, his mother's name Eve, and that he is my property and is now in my possession.

"BRICE CLARK.

"March 14th, 17."

The Law of 1780.

Briefly stated, the law of March 1, 1780, passed by Pennsylvania, provided (1) that all negroes and mulattoes born in Pennsylvania after the passage of the act, who otherwise would be slaves (as the children of slaves) should not be a slave; (2) but such a child shall be a servant until it reaches the age of twenty-eight unto such person to whom otherwise it would have been a slave; (3) that a return must be made to Quarter Sessions Court of all slaves held (that is, those born before Act of March 1, 1780, and also of all negro or mulatto children born and by the act made servants till twenty-eight) after the act; and (4) in default of such return the slave and the servant not so returned should be free.

Thus we see that the reason Brice Clark entered the boy born to Eve was that by such registry the boy remained his servant (not his slave) until twenty-eight years old. He was then entitled on discharge to certain moneys and clothing.

An Early Slave Contract.

Another early slave contract in Lancaster county, somewhat different from the one above set out, is the following, dated 1777:

"Know all men by these presents that I, Jarvis Bloomfield of Woodbridge, do bargain, sell and make over all my right, title and interest in a Negro boy named Daniel about eleven years old, which was my father's property left with me, disposed of at forty pounds, York money, do by these presents, bargain, sell and make over, all my right, title and interest in the above mentioned boy to James Hamilton, in consideration of the above

sum of Forty pounds York money, which boy I do hereby warrant and defend as my property against my father and all others.

"And do hereby acknowledge full satisfaction for the above boy.

"As witness my hand this 4th day of April, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven.

"JARVIS BLOOMFIELD.

"Witness Present:

"SAMUEL STONE."

Boy Sold For Wheat and Rye.

Under date of 1779 there is another Lancaster county slave contract in the terms of wheat and rye, as follows:

"To all whom it may concern. Know ye that I, Joseph Kittera, of the Brough of Lancaster and State of Pennsylvania, gent, for and in consideration of the quantity of fifty bushels of wheat and fifty bushels of rye to me, delivered by Brice Clark, at the Township of Lampeter in the county and State aforesaid, have granted, bargained, sold and delivered, and by these presents do grant, bargain, sell and deliver unto the said Brice Clark, one negro boy called Jack. To have and to hold the said negro boy to the said Brice Clark, his heirs and assigns, to the only proper use and behoof, of him, the said Brice Clark, his heirs and assigns forever. And the said Joseph Kittera, his heirs executors and administrators, the said negro boy called Jack unto the said Brice Clark, his heirs and assigns, against him, them, any or either of them and against all and every person or persons whomsoever claiming or to claim the said boy, by from or under him, them or any of them, shall and will warrant and forever defend these presents.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal, the 7th day of December, 1779.

JOSEPH KITTERA (Seal).

Witness Present:

JOHN W. KITTERA,

SAMUEL TURBITT.

The same day Brice Clark agreed by a writing not signed on the back of the above deed to transfer all his property in the boy December 14, 1779, to William Smith, Jr., for 2,000 pounds of Pennsylvania money. The interesting part about the deed last set out is that it considers the slave boy real estate rather than personal property. The deed uses the word "grant, bargain and sell," which are the words used in a deed to sell real property and not to sell personal goods, viz: "sell, assign, transfer and set over." And inasmuch as John Kittera, our first Congressman and a lawyer of ability, likely drew it, there must have been some good reason for it.

We remember that in 1780 Mr. Clark returned the boy Jack as one of his slaves, as I have shown above. Thus it seems that the 2,000 pound sale did not go through.

In our county also a series of transactions concerning the services of a slave called Amos Michaels took place. The first was when Baron de Beelen Bertholff on November 17, 1795, for 9 pounds and 10 shillings, transferred him to James Hamilton; second, when Hamilton on July 21, 1799, transferred him to John Bicking and the third when Bicking re-assigned him to James Hamilton, September 4, 1800. (Hist. of Gazzam and de Beelen Families, p. 67.)

A Novel Transaction.

Another novel transaction trafficking in human beings in Lancaster

county is the following, likely that of a slave made free by law again indenturing himself to an owner. It is as follows:

"Know all men by these presents, thot I, Aaron Jackson, a black man, for various good considerations moving me hereunto, do promise and engage to serve James Hamilton of the township of Salisbury and County of Lancaster, as hired servant, the full term of five months from date hereof and the said James Hamilton, shall and will find and provide for the said Aaron sufficient drink, apparel, washing and lodging during said term, and at the expiration thereof give him two complete suits of apparel, one of them to be new.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal April 28, in the year of our Lord, 1807.

his
AARON X JACKSON (Seal).
mark

Witness Present:
WILLIAM BOYD,
JOHN BOYD.

Another interesting slave contract, showing how slaves were brought into Lancaster county from the South, is that of Samuel Bell, of New Castle, Delaware, dated June 8, 1814, to John Clark, of Lancaster, selling and conveying to John Clark his slave boy Lawson, aged fourteen years, for the sum of \$300.

An article appearing in the Marietta Register about the year 1875 tells us that the Lawson, known as Lawson Taylor, died about that time, aged seventy-five years, and that he was well known and respected on the "Clark Farm," where he remained fifty-six years, that is, until he went to work for Dr. Cushman, about five

years before his death. The article said he left a much better record than many more fortunate than he. The Clark family, with whom he lived, stated that Lawson always voted the Democratic ticket, for the reason that his master did.

An insight of what formalities were necessary to allow slaves to be brought from the South is shown in the next item, under date of 1814, in which Levi Boulden, of Delaware, petitions the Supreme Court and the Court of Common Pleas, setting forth that he had manumitted his three slaves, Eliza, Thomas and James Staats, to be free, when they arrive at the age of twenty-eight, and prays that he may be permitted to remove the said slaves into Lancaster county. This was April 11, 1814.

The same day the Justices of the said Courts and of the General Quarter Sessions licensed the petitioner to export, sell and carry out of Delaware for sale into Lancaster county, Pa., the three slaves, with the condition that they be free when twenty-eight years old.

After this was done, on April 20, 1814, Boulden sold the boy, Thomas Staats, for seventeen years, and the boy, James Staatz, for nineteen years, to John Clark, of Donegal Township, Lancaster county, at the end of which time they would be twenty-eight years old and be free, for the sum of \$360.

Genesis of Act of 1780, Abolishing Slavery.

On the 5th of February, 1779, the Supreme Executive Council in a message to the Assembly suggested that a plan be adopted for the gradual abolition of slavery—honored will that State be in the annals of mankind. After much discussion a motion to dismiss the subject was carried by a vote of 29 yeas to 21 nays.

A new Assembly was elected and George Bryan, formerly Vice President of the Executive Council, was a member and moved that the subject of emancipation be referred to a committee. The motion was carried, and Mr. Bryan prepared the draft of a law for gradual emancipation, and on the 29th of February, 1780, it was adopted by a vote of 34 to 21. "Our bill," wrote Mr. Bryan, "astonishes and pleases the Quakers. They looked for no such benevolent issue of our government, exercised by the Presbyterians." The bill declared that no child born hereafter in Pennsylvania of slave parents should be a slave, but a servant until the age of twenty-eight years, at which time all claim of service on the part of the master should cease. All slaves then in the State were required to be registered before the first of November, under penalty of their becoming immediately free, as none was to be deemed a slave unless registered. Negro slaves were to be tried in the same manner as other persons, and in case of sentence of death, to be valued, and the price be paid out of the State Treasury.

The following tribute to George Bryan may be found on his tombstone, which was originally in the burying ground of the Second Presbyterian Church, on Arch street, near Fifth, Philadelphia:

"To the memory of George Bryan, who died 27th of January, 1791, aged sixty years. Mr. Bryan was among the earliest and most active and uniform friends of the rights of man before the Revolutionary War. As a member of the Assembly of Pennsylvania and of the Congress of New York in 1765, and as a citizen, he was conspicuous in opposition to the Stamp Act and other acts of British tyranny. He was equally an opponent of domestic sla-

very. The emancipation of the people of color engaged the feelings of his heart and the energies of his mind, and an act of abolition which laid the foundation of their liberation issued from his pen. He filled several important offices during the Revolutionary contest, and for the last eleven years of his life he was one of the Judges of the Supreme Court. In his private deportment he was exemplary—a Christian in principle and practice.”

Abolition Sentiment in America.

About the time of the Revolution societies of prominent men were formed for the purpose of ameliorating the condition of the slaves. Pennsylvania was the first State to organize such a society in 1787 with Franklin as President and Dr. Benjamin Rush as secretary, and a message was sent to Congress bearing the names of these illustrious men, asking to devise means for removing the incumbency of slavery from the United States. This Pennsylvania society continued in existence until 1862, when President Lincoln sent forth his proclamation for the abolition of slavery, and declared that all persons held as slaves “are and henceforth shall be free.” The slave population, according to the census of 1790, in Pennsylvania, was 3,417.

Slavery was deemed as inconsistent with the principles of free government and many declared slave-holding a sin against God and a crime against humanity.

Slave Children Born in Lancaster County After March 1, 1780.

In the paper on slaves read at the last meeting the list of slaves in our county from the time of the first census in 1790 was set out; but no record

of the number prior to that time has been given.

There was a docket containing the list in 1780, and prior, in Lancaster county, and also a docket containing a record of children born of slaves in our county after March 1, 1780. John Hubley, clerk, made the record of the returns of the children born after 1780 of slave parents, with full information as to age, sex, time of birth, etc. Both these dockets, or records, however, seem to be lost; but their contents were copied by some one a dozen years ago or more into blank books, and there was also a typewritten list made of such births, etc. These blank books and lists are in the possession of Mr. Hensel, who has kindly loaned them to the writer for the purposes of this paper. Who copied them we can not ascertain.

The return shows that up to 1790 there were reported to the said clerk 118 children born to slave parents since 1780, of whom 58 were male and 60 female.

From 1790 to 1800 there were 138 children reported of whom 65 were male and 73 female.

From 1800 to 1810 there were 81 children reported, of whom 43 were male and 38 female.

From 1810 to 1820 there were 72 children reported, of whom 37 were male and 35 female.

From 1820 to 1831 there were 18 children reported, of whom nine were male and nine female.

This is the end of the record, and it shows 427 reported since 1780, of whom 212 were male and 215 female.

Slaves in Lancaster County March 1, 1780, When the Gradual Emancipation Act Was Passed.

The docket containing these facts is called the "Register of Negro and Mu-

latto Slaves and Servants" for Lancaster county, 1780.

In it we find there were in the county at that time 807 slaves for life, of whom 394 were males and 412 were females. The slaves in age ran from two and one-half years to sixty years and the average was from twenty to twenty-five years. They were owned by the Scotch-Irish and the Germans in the following proportions, viz: Scotch-Irish, two-thirds; English, Germans, Huguenots, Welsh, etc., one third.

According to this record, the thickest slave centers of the county seemed to be in and about Donegal and Salisbury townships and Lancaster borough.

The densest centers of slavery are shown by the reports of children born of slaves after 1780 and their division among the various townships. All children born of slave parents after 1780 became servants till twenty-eight years old. But it is evident that when the time came that all existing slaves died, then no longer would children born of colored people in Pennsylvania be servants at all; but they would be born free, too.

The record shows the following as the extent of slavery in the different townships in 1780:

In Bart township only four children of slaves were reported born from 1780 to the extinction of slavery—three males and one female. Therefore, Bart was not much given to slavery.

In Caernarvon there were twenty-six of such births reported from 1789 to 1825, being ten males and sixteen females. In only a few cases were there more than one each year in the entire township. The Olds, Hudsons, Evans, Jacobs, Levertys and other Welsh owned them.

In Conestoga it seems none was reported.

In Donegal there were 56 such births reported from 1780 to 1820, of whom 23 were males and 33 were females. This was a pretty thick slave center. The Bayleys, Cooks, Clarks, Andersons, Middletons, Kilbaughs, Works, Nicholsons, Keys, Moores, Lowreys, Whitehills, Farquahars, Watsons, Evans, Van Leers, Hamiltons, Vances and Boggs owned them.

In Drumore there were 39 such births reported from 1780 to 1823, of whom 24 were males and 15 females. They were owned by the Maxwells, Gambles, Bighams, Evans, Amblers, Steeles, Reeds, Krugs, Neels, McAnteres, Monroes, Moores, Boyds, Bowers, Withers and Steeles. They seemed fully numerous there.

In Elizabeth township but 14 births of slaves were recorded, four males and ten females. Twelve were held by Robert Coleman and two owned by the heirs of Curtis Grubb.

In Earl township there were only eight such births reported from 1780 to 1810, of whom six were males and two females. The Smiths, Kitteras, Wallaces, Martins and Jacobs owned the parents of these slave children. Thus slavery in Earl was confined to a narrow center in that great township. The Germans there did not own slaves.

In Hempfield township there were thirteen such births of children of slaves reported from 1780 to 1815, of whom five were males and eight were females. The parents of these children were owned by the Spears, Tidballs, Scotts, Sprouts and Stricklers. Slaves were thus not numerous in this township.

In Lancaster borough there were sixty-eight such births reported to the Quarter Sessions Clerk from 1780 on-

ward, of whom twenty-eight were males and forty females. They were owned by the Shippens, Ettings, Jacks, Regers, Edwards, Lockharts, Misses, Millers, Zantzingers, Hubleys, Sloughs, Bausmans, Rosses, Cunninghams, Kirkpatrick, Kuhns, Bowsmans, Clendenins, Bartons, Groffs, Duffields, Reigarts, Smiths, Colemans, Galbraiths, Gundakers, Dicksons, Hambrights and Wilsons. Slavery flourished in the borough pretty generally.

In Little Britain there were thirty-three such births reported from 1780 to 1809, of whom fifteen were male and eight female. Their parents were owned by the Scotts, McCulloughs, Blacks, Breadings, Gibsons, Frazers, Caldwells, Porters, Longs, Williamsons, Campbells, Scotts, Stubbs, Pattersons and Neepers. This was a fair number of slaves for that township.

In Leacock township there were twenty-two such births reported from 1780 to 1820, of whom eight were males and fourteen females. Their parents were owned by the Caldwells, Watsons, Lightners, Porters, Woods, Ferrees, Coopers, Hamiltons. This was not a large number for so populous a township.

From 1802 to 1809 in Manor township James Armstrong held one male slave and Charles S. Sewell one male and one female.

In Mount Joy township, from 1791 to 1811, but four slaves were reported—two males and two females, owned by the Moreheads, Boal, Jacobs and Rev. Colin McFarquahar.

In Rapho there were twelve such births reported from 1780 to the end, of whom five were males and seven females. They were owned by the Pattersons, Currans, Pedans, Scotts, Jenkins and Hays. Thus we see here that there were few slaves in this German township.

In Strasburg township there were thirteen such births reported from 1780 to 1823, of whom eight were males and five females. Their parents were owned by the Rines, Hathorns, Prices, Ferrees, Van Lears, Lefevers, Witmers, Lightners, Whitehills, Bears and Withers. Here we see that the Germans and Huguenots did not scruple to hold slaves.

In Martic township but one slave-owner was recorded and that was Geo. McLaughlin, in 1789. He had two girls.

In Salisbury township there were fifty-five such births reported from 1780 to 1819, of whom thirty-four were males and twenty-one females. Their parents were owned by the McCulleys, Clemsons, McCamants, Andersons, Smiths, Slaymakers, Hendersons, Skiles, Henrys, Buckleys, Boyds, Ky-sers, McClelans, Tweeds, Thompsons, Johnsons, Whitehills, Ellmakers, By-ers, Lytles and Bakers. This was a populous slave center. But the slaves were not owned by the Germans living there.

In Sadsbury township nine slaves were born from 1789 to 1805—three males and six females, owned by the Taylors, Tweeds, Johnsons, Sterrit and James Culbertson. The Quakers in this township seemed true to their convictions and did not own slaves.

From Warwick there were seven such births reported from 1780 to 1823, of whom one was male and six female. The parents of these children were owned by the Grubbs, Jacobs and Colemans. The slave population was confined to a small center in Warwick.

This gives a good survey of the distribution of slaves among the different townships of the county at the date of slavery abolition in 1780. Where the most children of slaves were reported there the parents were held in slavery most numerously.

Voluntary Manumission in Lancaster County After the Act of 1780.

Although the Act of 1780 to abolish slavery in Pennsylvania gradually did not free slaves held and owned by the people of the State at the time of the passage of the act except such who were not returned and registered by the owners, yet the custom early sprang up of voluntary manumission. There was a docket in the Quarter Sessions office of our county containing a list of the manumissions and from it we find that from 1794 onward there were at least seventeen slaves so freed by their owners in our county. Persons so manumitting their slaves are William Montgomery, Josiah Lockhard, Joseph Simons, James Evans, John Woodhill, Robert Maxwell (of Drumore), John Bausman, Nathaniel Ellmaker, Dr. Maxwell McDowell, John Graeff, of Lancaster borough, Hanna Baily (of Donegal), Chas. S. Sewell (of Manor), Richard Miller, Natnan L. Baldwin, Louisa Smith and James Bigham (of Drumore). They assigned various causes which moved them to do so.

These are set out in the record, and I now give some of the leading facts connected with the same, since it will throw a light on certain phases of slavery here at home not generally thought of.

His "boy Jerry" was given his freedom by William Montgomery, of Lancaster, the lawyer and father of John R. Montgomery, on May 3, 1794, showing appreciation of faithful services.

Josiah Lockhart, the shop-keeper in Lancaster, manumitted his slave, Abbie Dominikin, also for faithful services, on November 2, 1796.

Joseph Simon, the rich Jew merchant, on the 7th of July, 1797, liberated Catharine, the wife of a negro

named Pleasant, from slavery, and also released from servitude the children of Catharine, viz: William and Catherine.

James Evans, of West Nottingham Hundred, in the county of Cecil, Maryland, manumitted as follows: "I do of my own free will and accord liberate, discharge and set free a negro man named Toby, which was willed to me by my father, John Evans, deceased, of Drumore township, Lancaster county," on the 10th of March, 1798.

John Woodhull, of Monmouth county, N. J., on the 19th day of March, 1799, tells us: "This is to certify that I have set free from slavery a negro man named James, now in the county of Lancaster, Pa., so that he may make bargains and contracts for himself as other free negroes do or have the privilege of doing." Was Woodhull the Presbyterian minister at Lancaster?

Robert Maxwell, of Drumore township, says: "I do manumit and set free my boy Jack for faithful service and for divers good causes and considerations this 29th day of March, 1799."

John Graeff, of the borough of Lancaster, Pa., moved by motives of benevolence and humanity, says that he manumits his negro boy. Andrew Peters, on the condition that Andrew do forthwith bind himself by indenture to serve the said Graeff for the full term of two years. Done the 4th of September, 1801.

John Bausman, of Lancaster, from "motives of benevolence and humanity manumits and sets free from slavery his mulatto girl, Jane, aged twenty-five years, on consideration that she will forthwith bind herself by indenture to serve Christian Sower, Esq., of Tulpehocken, in Berks county, for the term of two years, from the 2d of April, 1803."

Nathaniel Ellmaker, of Lancaster, on the 30th of January, 1804, from motives of humanity and benevolence, set free from slavery his "negro man Jack, aged twenty-seven years, eleven months and twenty days."

The last will and testament of Hanna Bailey, late of Donegal township, empowers Dr. Samuel Maxwell McDowell, executor of the same, from motives of benevolence and humanity to set free from slavery a negro woman named Sarah, who was lately the property of Hanna Bailey, on June 3, 1708.

Charles Sewell's manumission is as follows: "Know all men by these presents, That I, Charles Sewell, of Manor Township, Lancaster county, have lately purchased a negro man for life from George Finley, of Queen Ann County, Maryland, aged about thirty years—now know ye that, in consideration that the aforesaid negro named Charles shall indenture and bind himself a servant for the term of seven years, during which term he is faithfully to serve the aforesaid Charles Sewell, his heirs and assigns, from the date hereof, I Charles Sewell do manumit and set at liberty the said negro from the 12th of November, 1808."

On the 12th day of July, 1814, Richard Miller, of Kent county, Maryland, for divers good causes, in consideration of \$1, paid to him in hand, released from slavery and manumitted his slave woman Venus, being of the age of twenty-three years, and able to work and make a sufficient livelihood.

Nathaniel Boulden manumitted his slave as follows: "Believing as I do that no human being has a right in reason or in good conscience to hold his fellow man in bondage, I hereby certify that some years ago I freed

and gave full and entire liberty to my slave George, who called himself George Washington, now about thirty years of age, born in New Castle county, Delaware.

"Witness my hand and seal this 30th day of July, 1821.

"NATHANIEL L. BOULDEN,
"Attorney at Law, Lancaster, Pa."

Louisa Smith asserts her freedom as follows: "To All Whom it May Concern, Louisa Smith, about nineteen years of age, claims to be a free woman, agreeably to the laws of Pennsylvania. She was a slave to William Ritsell, of Hagerstown, Md., and the said master moved to Pennsylvania about two years ago with his family and brought the said Louisa with him, and after remaining with the said master about four months she left him in Pennsylvania, first being well assured that she was free according to the laws of Pennsylvania.

her

"LOUISA X SMITH,
mark

"Witness:

"ROBERT SPEAR."

James Bigham manumitted as follows: "Know ye that James Bigham, of Drumore Township, hath for certain good causes emancipated and set free his negro man Jack on the 10th of August, 1799. Jack hath of his own free will covenanted to agree that he is to serve the said master six years, during which time the master is to find him in meat, drink, wearing apparel, boarding, lodging as formerly and also to allow him to do the business of a sexton for the congregation of Chestnut Level; and the said Jack is to receive the perquisites for said service for his own use and receive two months' schooling for three years;

and at the end of said time to receive the sum of 50 pounds and lay out a piece of land for his use and also a new suit of apparel, a new Bible, axe, mattock and hoe."

George McCullough freed his slave as follows: "The subscriber does of his own accord and free will acquit and release his negro Joe, from being any longer with him as a slave, upon consideration that he shall be a faithful servant at his master's call, as a hireling for the space of four years from the date hereof—he is only to call upon him not above nine months each year. April 1, 1797.

his

"Signed—NEGRO X JOE,

mark

"GEORGE McCULLOUGH."

This is a chapter that shows a very commendable spirit in our early Lancaster county citizens; and it is especially refreshing to recall it in our day, at a time when so many laboring men and women feel that their employers, especially corporations, own them almost body and soul.

Minutes of the February Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., Feb. 3, 1911.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its monthly meeting on Friday evening in the Smith Library building. The attendance was the largest for many months, showing that an increasing interest is being taken in the work of the organization. In the absence of the President, Mr. George Steinman, Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, one of the Vice Presidents, presided.

The assistant librarian, Miss Bausman, reported a number of donations received since the last meeting, among them being the following: Handbook of American Indians, from the Bureau of American Ethnology; catalogue of autograph letters of Charles T. Steigerwalt; a picture of Langdon Cheves, from John Benet, of South Carolina Historical Society; a Lancaster City Directory, 1868-69, from R. M. Reilly, Esq.; and a number of programmes of local organizations from Dr. R. K. Buehrle.

The society extended its thanks to the donors.

The following new members were elected: Rev. S. C. Enck, Columbia; H. W. Kreibel, Lititz; S. D. Erb, Lititz, and Prof. H. M. J. Klein, of Franklin and Marshall College. The names of Miss Mary Martin and Miss Ida R. McMillan, both of this city, were proposed for membership.

The committee on the Christiana riot celebration reported as follows:

Your committee to consider and report a scheme for the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the so-called

Christiana Riot, desires to report progress, and asks to be continued until the next meeting. It has had several meetings and conferences, and has conferred with a committee of the citizens of Christiana. They are at present considering the most eligible site for the erection of a memorial, and of the proper place in which to hold the popular meeting for the ceremonies of the occasion. The fact that the complete success of such a celebration depends largely on the facilities for accommodating and transporting a large concourse of people makes it advisable to inspect the various sites offered. Recent conditions of the weather and grounds has not permitted this, but arrangements have been made for such a visitation at an early day, and we expect to be able to report fully at the March meeting of your society.

Very respectfully submitted,
W. U. HENSEL, Chairman.

BENJ. C. ATLEE,

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN.

A letter received from Mr. John Bennett, of Charleston, S. C., which accompanied a picture of Langdon Cheves, which he presented to the society, was read, and the secretary was instructed to reply and extend the thanks of the society to the donor.

A motion was presented and adopted referring to the executive committee, with power to act, the question of purchasing Smith's History of Delaware County and Volume 1, of American Biography.

A motion was adopted authorizing the purchase of the Wilderness Trail, by Hanna.

Previous to the meeting of the society the executive committee met and organized for the year. Mr. A. K. Hostetter was chosen chairman and Miss Clark secretary.

The paper of the evening was prepared and read by Miss Martha B. Clark. The essayist had for her subject the slavery question, this being the second in a series of papers which will be read on this subject during the current year, which will mark the sixtieth anniversary of the Christiana riot. It was a most excellent paper, carefully prepared, and elicited much interest from the members. There was an interesting discussion of the slavery question following the reading of the paper, those participating having been Mr. Diffenderffer, Mr. Eshleman, Mrs. Robinson, Mr. D. B. Landis and Mr. Magee.

The society gave permission to the pupils of the Boys' and Girls' High Schools to have use of the books in the library bearing on the part played by the Germans in the Revolutionary War. The books will be used under the supervision of Miss Skeel, librarian of the Smith Library. The High School pupils are preparing papers for submission to the contest conducted by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MARCH 3, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE EARLY ABOLITIONISTS OF LANCASTER
COUNTY.

MINUTES OF MARCH MEETING.

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LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

The Early Abolitionists of Lancaster County - - - 69

BY THOMAS WHITSON, ESQ.

Minutes of the March Meeting - - - - - 86

The Early Abolitionists of Lancaster County.

In giving a history of the Abolition movement in Lancaster county, or elsewhere, the question seems first to arise, what is specially meant by the term "Abolitionist." The indiscriminate manner in which it was used sixty years ago against every person who in any manner sympathized with the anti-slavery movement leaves me somewhat in doubt as to what phase of the subject I am supposed to treat. In fact, I am reminded very much of a speech I heard made by Thaddeus Stevens when yet a small boy. It was in the Congressional campaign of 1858, when Mr. Stevens was a candidate for Congress from this district. The peroration of his speech was substantially as follows. I quote from memory:

"But in answer to all this I hear one reply, namely, Stevens is an Abolitionist. The indiscriminate manner with which the term is used, I am frank to confess, leaves me somewhat in doubt as to what is meant by it. But the venom and spleen with which it is hurled at some of us would indicate, at least, that it is a term of reproach and used only against monsters and outlaws of society. If it is meant by an Abolitionist that I am one of those terrible, heinous-looking animals with cloven hoofs and horns, such as is described in legend and fiction, and in Milton's "Paradise Lost," I am not very handsome, to be sure, but I don't think I am one of those. If it is meant by the term Abolitionist that I am one

of those depraved degenerates and outlaws of society who endangers his neighbor's property by committing arson and robbery, etc., while making no professional claims to righteousness, I am sure I am not one of those. If it is meant by the term that I am one of those sacrilegious and irreverent beings who would destroy society, substitute anarchy and annul all laws of religion and virtue, I am not very pious to be sure, but I don't think I am one of those. But if it is meant by an Abolitionist that I am one who is opposed to the institution of slavery everywhere, wherever it exists, all over the face of this earth, whether in the United States of America, or in the frozen regions of Russia and Siberia, or in the Latin nations of South America, under whatever guise and form, and whatever name it may bear, and who, if he had the power and right, would abolish it to-morrow in any and all of these nations, in any form whatsoever that it may have assumed—if they mean by that an Abolitionist, then, fellow citizens, they have called me by my right name."

But to speak more definitely of the various phases of the anti-slavery movement which existed in Lancaster county as it began to crystallize after the passage of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, I think it might be fairly divided into two general parts: First, The more strenuous and uncompromising ones who afterward became known as Garrison Abolitionists, who would admit of no compromise and asserted that immediate and unconditional freedom was the right of the slave, without regard to consequences; second, those of various opinions who held slavery to be a social, moral and political evil, but held that its abolition should be worked out by the States themselves, and through the

powers of the General Government to restrain its further spread and introduction in the national territories. The latter class might again be properly sub-divided into two classes, namely: Those who would vote for no one but the absolute avowed "Free Soil," or "Liberty," candidates, and those who still believed in the efficacy of party organization and held on to and co-operated with the old Whig party until it was entirely absorbed by the slave power, becoming entirely subservient to its behests. Its national platform in 1852 showed practically no distinction between its utterances and those of the Democratic party on the question of slavery; the result of which was, as known to all men, the triumphant election of Pierce in that campaign and the over-whelming defeat of General Scott, the conqueror of Mexico, the candidate of the Whig party.

An Early Trio.

Of the first class mentioned, in the formation of the American Anti-slavery Society, which met in Philadelphia in November, 1833, and signed the constitution thereof, three were from Lancaster county: Lindley Coates and Thomas Whitson, both of Sadsbury township, and James Miller McKim, a young Presbyterian minister from Columbia. Of these three men John G. Whittier has given the following brief pen portraits:

"That tall, gaunt, swarthy man, erect, eagle-faced, upon whose somewhat martial figure the Quaker coat seemed a little out of place, was Lindley Coates.

"Thomas Whitson, father of the author of the Hicksite school of Friends, fresh from his farm in Lancaster county, dressed in plainest homespun, his tall form surmounted

by a shock of unkempt hair, the odd obliquity of his vision contrasting strongly with the clearness and directness of his spiritual insight.

"The youngest man present was, I believe, James Miller McKim, a Presbyterian minister from Columbia, afterward one of our most efficient workers."

Of these three men, Lindley Coates afterwards became a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1837. He was one of three members of that convention who voted against the insertion of the word "white" in the clause defining the right of suffrage in Pennsylvania. His two colleagues in that negative vote were Thaddeus Stevens, a delegate from Adams county, and Thomas Earle, of Philadelphia, grandfather of the present George H. Earle, Jr., of financial reputation in that city, and father of Mrs. Phoebe Earle Gibbons.

Mr. Coates, as a reward for his antagonism to the bands of kidnapers who infested his neighborhood, about 1850, had his barn reduced to ashes.

Thomas Whitson had presented to him, in the fall of '51, on the occasion of the Christiana riot, when lawless bandits terrorized the neighborhood under the guise of Deputy United States Marshals, the alternative of recalling the assertion that he was an Abolitionist, or his brains blown out at the point of a revolver. Friend Whitson preferred the latter, and said fairly to his assailant with force, as directly as his oblique vision would carry the words to the eye of his assailant, that he would never deny that he was an Abolitionist. Conscience, always more powerful than bayonets, triumphed in that case, as in all others, and the weapon of the would-be assassin dropped from its aim with trigger unpulled. This story the late

Hon. Anthony E. Roberts, who was United States Marshal on this occasion, related to the writer, which served as a confirmation of its accuracy as it was reported at the time.

James Miller McKim, the young Presbyterian minister from Columbia, moved very shortly to Philadelphia, after signing that constitution. He became an active agent of the anti-slavery movement in Philadelphia, forming anti-slavery societies throughout Southeastern Pennsylvania, and becoming practically the Philadelphia editor of the "National Anti-Slavery Standard," the organ which was published under the auspices of the National Society.

By a singular coincidence, the two first mentioned, Friends Coates and Whitson, were both members of the Sadsbury Monthly Meeting of the Society of Hicksite Quakers, and lie buried in the same old graveyard, within forty feet of each other.

Here let it be stated that at that time, although Garrison had started his "Liberator," in 1831, two years previous, bearing for its motto, "Our Country is the World; Our Countrymen all Mankind," it was not until some years afterward that he raised his standard of "No Union with Slaveholders," and declared that the Constitution of the United States was "a covenant with death and a league with hell."

Political Organization.

The declaration of principles of the American Anti-slavery Society of that time was rather confined to a strong moral appeal to the Christian people throughout the United States and the world to bear their non-compromising testimony against slavery; that their entire confidence was in the righteousness of their cause, and the over-

ruling province of God; that they would circulate, unsparingly and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals; that they would endeavor to enlist the pulpit and the press in their righteous cause; that they would arouse the conscience of the church to its duty on the great question and appeal simply to the Supreme Ruler of the universe for the rectitude of their intention, as their fathers had done in that same city fifty-seven years before.

In a few years, as the growth of the anti-slavery sentiment in Lancaster county became more manifest, the advocates and defenders of the institution became also more violent and intense in their denunciation of Abolitionists.

In 1844 quite a respectable minority vote was polled for James G. Birney, the "Free-soil" candidate for the Presidency. His supporters were rather severely censured here as elsewhere by the "Old Line Whigs" on the one side for causing the defeat of Henry Clay when their vote would have elected him, and on the other by a small faction of Garrisonians, who had begun to indorse the full measure of Garrison's platform, and abstained from voting entirely, holding that, as the Federal Constitution recognized slavery, no man could participate in the elections under it without becoming himself a party to the guilty contract and suffering defilement thereby. The same conditions existed largely in 1848, when Martin Van Buren led a distinct "Free-soil" party movement as a candidate for the Presidency and carried with him a slight sprinkling of Democratic followers, with the difference, however, that General Taylor, the Whig candidate, was elected.

The church in Lancaster county, as throughout the nation, was convulsed

more or less by the question that would never "down." This was owing not only to the varying positions which its national assemblies had taken, but also to the individual and local feelings and sentiments of its various pastors and congregations. The Methodist Church as a body throughout the county might be said to have leaned rather to the anti-slavery side of the question, as doubtless its members felt they could not consistently call themselves followers of John Wesley and apologize for or defend "the institution;" but their system of frequent change of pastors left no distinct personality in the county opposing the institution vigorously that I now recall. The old Chestnut Level Presbyterian Church in Dummer had for its pastor for many years Lindley C. Rutter, who proclaimed with no uncertain sound his opposition to slavery. He received the usual maledictions and contempt of a large portion of the community, even including some of his own congregation. At the Colerain Presbyterian Church the pastor of the church, along in the latter forties or early fifties, had taken the position that the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was justified in its declaration that the ownership of slaves constituted no sufficient bar to Christian communion and fellowship in the Church. From this position some of its members, of strong character and conviction, led by James Martin and Abner Davis, Sr., withdrew from its membership and erected a church of their own near Andrews' Bridge, known as the free Presbyterian Church, where there was maintained a separate minister, and service held until after the ratification of the Thirteenth amendment. Rev. W. F. P. Noble, of Sadsbury township, a young

Presbyterian minister, a scholar, and afterwards the author of two very readable books on religious topics, withdrew for a considerable time from the ministry, feeling that his conscience would not allow him to be as subservient to the institution of slavery as his congregation and the general church of the land expected him to be—especially after the weak position the church assumed in denouncing the Lovejoy outrage, in which the victim was killed by a pro-slavery mob in Alton, Ill., in 1837, for having opposed slavery in a very mild and constitutional way in his paper.

Friends and Seceders.

"Father" William Easton, of Smyrna, pastor of the old Octoraro United Presbyterian Church, with all his orthodoxy, must be credited as one of those who refused to bend the knee to the behests of the slave power when the most of his congregation were anything but enthusiastic in their opposition to it. However, I have very distinct recollections of one stern old Calvinist and Abolitionist, Mr. Benj. Carter, of Sadsbury, who belonged to the United Presbyterian congregation. He went home from a "John Brown meeting" at Smyrna in great disgust. It had been called on the day of the execution of Brown, to utter a protest against what the assemblage considered a crime against humanity. Carter found at that meeting only two members of his own church; the rest of the audience was composed largely of what he would have termed in all honesty and sincerity heretics—"Hicksite" Quakers and infidels, two young school teachers of the neighborhood and a few other leading Republicans, such as Elwood Griest and Samuel Slokom, etc. Mr. Carter's orthodoxy.

which as already intimated would have passed muster with Calvin at any time, began seriously to debate with himself whether some of those dangerous Quakers who had dared so much for the cause of liberty might not have a fair chance for entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven; at least his views in the question became so modified that he afterwards married a very estimable Quaker lady for a second wife, and I never understood that he regretted the contract.

The more unobtrusive and German denominations throughout the county, I believe, never in any way apologized for slavery as religious congregations, though they never became very pronounced in their opposition to it. Even the Friends, or Quakers, who boast, and truthfully, too, that they were the first distinct religious organization in America to positively pronounce the dictum that no person interested in the ownership of slave property could be admitted to membership in their society, did not all of them, I am constrained to say, spend sleepless nights devising measures to free the bondman or to aid a fleeing fugitive in his flight. I think it is not great error to state that even the monthly meetings of Sadsbury, Penn Hill and Eastland did not always give that spontaneous welcome to Lucretia Mott which now appears upon the surface of a casual reading; especially I recall the fact that her own particular "meeting" in Philadelphia made strenuous efforts at one time to have her disowned from membership, the ostensible reason being her religious tenets, while the real reason was her persistent anti-slavery discourses. So it would appear that the churches of Lancaster county, while endeavoring, no doubt, to follow the light as they saw it, cannot be

credited as a body with giving a whole-souled, vigorous support to the abolition or anti-slavery movement.

The Underground Railway.

Incident to the Abolition movement in Lancaster county might be mentioned the "Underground Railroad," an organization of which possibly there was more spontaneous action than systematic arrangement. Magnified it is now, perhaps, into proportions that never existed, and with a history, perhaps, impossible for any one to write with accuracy, for the simple reason that I doubt if any one knows it entirely. The common idea that it was composed of a set of people who assisted escaped fugitives in their flight to Canada, or elsewhere, is doubtless correct; likewise that it had its origin and main spring in the sentiment of strong men of conscience, who openly admitted they never would obey the behests of a law that commanded them to return human beings to bondage, and recognized no such things as property in man, and who considered they were performing their duty to conscience and to God when they aided a fugitive to escape from his servitude. In that movement they, no doubt, incidentally and at various times were encouraged and even assisted by humane men of more conservative views, who would professedly say they would obey such laws, but secretly would aid the bondman in his flight to freedom.

Mrs. Stowe's Democratic State Senator of Ohio, in her great novel of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," who hurried home from the Legislature to tell his constituents that he had voted for the law providing more stringent measures, for the rendition of fugitive slaves who escaped from Kentucky, and then hitched up his carriage

at midnight to take a slave mother and her babe ten miles across the country in her flight to Canada, was probably not an exceptional case. But as even the extreme ultra-Abolitionists did not publish from the house tops every philanthropic yet illegal act they performed in that direction, it is, I might repeat, a little difficult to state many things with great accuracy.

A general impression seems now to exist, founded, no doubt, on strong circumstantial evidence, that there were three or more marked or distinct channels through which fugitive slaves from the border escaped into Pennsylvania, and were aided by that mysterious agency, the "Underground Railroad," to Canada. One might be said to have had its course from the Eastern shore of Maryland and Delaware, coming up through southern Chester county, and incidentally, along the border of Lancaster, and some have the idea that an old gentleman by the name of Thomas Garrett, in the city of Wilmington, had much to do with giving them direction to their friends in Pennsylvania.

Another channel seems to have crossed the Susquehanna from the western shore of Maryland, at a point as far south as Conowingo Ferry, now bridge, and made entrance into the borders of Pennsylvania through southern York and Lancaster counties. Those who came by this course found succor and aid from the Smiths, of Drumore, the older generation of the Brosiuses, and John N. Russel, and in the valley east of Quarryville from the Bushongs, the Moores, the Jacks and others.

Another flow, which came from probably a little further west, or through the main body of York, Adams and Franklin counties, found their outlet into Lancaster county at Columbia,

where some prominent citizens are supposed to have been in the secrets; as, for instance, the Wrights, probably the descendants of the Wrights after whom the town of Wrightsville takes its name, Steve Smith, a one-eyed colored man, who had made considerable money himself in the lumber business, and it is altogether possible that our old friend 'Squire Samuel Evans, of Columbia; the Summys, of Marietta, and some others, who afterwards became fairly prominent in Lancaster county politics, knew more about such movement than they always would have cared to tell.

One thing seems pretty well understood by this time, that this stream flowed from Columbia eastward toward the residence of one Daniel Gibbons an old Friend who resided near Bird-in-Hand, the grandfather of our present very brilliant literary lady, Mary Anna Gibbons Brubaker, residing at the present time on the old homestead, from whom we may expect at the next meeting an elaboration of this stirring narrative. From this point the fugitives were generally given a name which they were told to assume, always adhere to and never divulge the fact that they had been known by any other name.

Here perhaps I might digress far enough to tell a story of one old negro, Samuel Hopkins, who lived long in this county, among the last survivors of the Christiana riot, and not unknown to some of the people of the Lancaster County Historical Society. Sammy was once asked by the late Hon. Marriott Brosius and the writer to tell us what his real name was, the argument being put to him: "Why, slavery has been abolished for thirty years, you are a free man, an old soldier of your country, and no man dare

harm a hair of your head—why don't you tell us where you were from, and what your name was?" The old darky, with a look of sobriety and seriousness, stammered, hesitated for a moment and seemed about to tell us, when he finally said: "Well, I'll just tell you, man, I did promise old Daniel Gibbons that I would never tell that to anybody as long as I lived, and some how or other I had rather not." We both looked at him approvingly and gave him words of commendation for his decision; and yet many persons could not help but feel that the fidelity with which he stuck to his trust in that case was wonderfully in contrast with many of his latter day promises when he became a rural statesman of Eden township.

"The Kidnapers."

As the converse to the "Underground Railroad" might be mentioned briefly the seemingly organized bands of kidnapers or slave-hunters who lived along the border of Maryland and Pennsylvania and followed the business of recapturing escaped fugitives from Virginia and Maryland, or kidnaping by force and violence free negroes who had been born and reared in Pennsylvania all their lives. This practice, which existed for fully two decades before the outbreak of the Civil War, continued up to as late as the winter of 1860, when a free negro by the name of Brown was stolen from his home one night not far from Mt. Vernon, in Salisbury township, near the Chester county line, and spirited through as far as Baltimore, where he was discovered barely in time to prevent his being sold at auction to planters or traders in the cotton States of the far South. One J. Williams Thorne, a man of strong personality in that neighborhood and largely

instrumental in the rescuing of the colored man, and in the conviction of the kidnaper, which was finally effected in the Lancaster county Court—had his barn consigned to flames through the hands of the kidnappers about twelve months later, in the winter of 1861, when the States were already passing secession ordinances. Strange as it may seem, to not only the younger generation of this day, but to others, when Mr. Thorne went over to Parkesburg a few weeks later, to take a glimpse at Abraham Lincoln, as he passed through on his road to Washington to be inaugurated, and Thorne made a little impromptu speech to the crowd there assembled, saying "that freedom was national, and slavery is sectional," he was practically hooted down. The Brown incident is the last one of kidnaping, however, that I recall before the firing on Fort Sumter, which seemed by common understanding to close the business.

Those who are anxious for a closer insight into the events of the slave-hunting era might possibly get some side-light by reading George Alfred Townsend's novel, "Katy of Cotochtin," in which it is quite evident that a prominent national figure, Thaddeus Stevens, is delineated on the one side of the question in the character "Old Mr. Quantrill," and a notorious band of slave-catchers along the border of the Cumberland Valley, the Logan brothers, are named outright without concealment. Of these men one was pretty generally known to the people of this community, as he removed to Lancaster shortly after the Civil War, where he lived until the time of his death, and who, whatever change of heart he may have had on the business of catching and sending negroes to slavery for gain, I believe, was always quite content with his record as being

the captor of Captain Cook, John Brown's chief lieutenant at Harper's Ferry.

The Christiana Riot.

The old "Gap gang," as it was known throughout this county, was not immediately responsible for conveying the information to Gorsuch and Dr. Price as to the whereabouts of their slaves, the attempt to capture whom and take them back to slavery under the prescribed form of the law as it then existed brought about the local tragedy, the Christiana riot. It became at once of national significance, and its sixtieth anniversary quite fitly is to be observed under the auspices of this society next September.

The individual who did convey that information, I believe, was never distinctly connected with the Gap gang, and perhaps charity suggests that his name should not be mentioned even here; possibly he was too great a coward for the leaders of those bold adventurers and desperadoes to ever take into their confidence. Suffice it to say that he went to Philadelphia some time after the riot to reprimand J. Miller McKim for publishing his name in the Anti-Slavery Standard. To him Mr. McKim replied: "Then I understand, sir, you have come here to discipline me for publishing your name in that capacity, and not to deny the charge?" It is needless to say that practically ended their interview, and perhaps it is a good place also for me to let the curtain fall, except that possibly I may be allowed a word by way of general recapitulation.

Now that we are living more than a half century from the time most of these scenes were being enacted, as they were but the preparatory acts in the great controversy which afterwards convulsed this nation, it might

not be amiss to pause for a brief moment and consider the actual, natural and logical causes. Large portions, perhaps, of the present generation may have heard somewhat vaguely, and indistinctly, of Wm. H. Seward's "irrepressible conflict" speech. Let us intrude upon your patience long enough to give you the great pregnant truths uttered in a few sentences thereof:

"These antagonistic systems, Freedom and Slavery, are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results. Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and, therefore, ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or the rye fields and wheat fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves, and Boston and New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men.

"It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at compromise between the slave and free States, and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises when made vain and ephemeral.

Never did human insight forecast the future more clearly or in more classical and well-chosen language—

not even Napoleon when he said that "Europe would ultimately either be all Cossack or all Republic," nor Webster, when he said "there can be no such thing as peaceable secession." These things are stated simply to remind young teachers, writers and university extension lecturers that now, while living in the universal era of good feeling, when all sensible people have joined hands across the bloody chasm and bear no malice nor hatred to any one, it is well enough still not to pervert the truth or mislead the rising generation. I know that the question of the general powers of the Federal Government and of the rights specially reserved to the States has always been a somewhat perplexing and intricate question, upon which parties were very early formed, and that it is so to a great extent to this day, but it seems almost impossible to believe that those questions alone would have produced convulsion or civil war without the existence of the Institution of Slavery and the humane popular impulse to exterminate it from the life of a nation dedicated to the freedom of men.

Minutes of the March Meeting.

Lancaster, Pa., March 3, 1911.

That interest in matters historical is growing in this city was evidenced by the very large attendance at the regular meeting this evening of the Lancaster County Historical Society held in its room in the Smith free library building. The announcement that a most entertaining paper, third in a series on the slavery question being read before the society, would be presented had the effect of entirely filling the society's room, and, in fact, many persons were compelled to stand, so large was the audience. The meeting was one of the best held by the society for many months. The full programme prepared for the evening could not be carried out. Arrangements had been made to have as the guest of the evening aged Peter Woods, of near Bartville, who is the sole survivor of the famous Christiana riots, the sixtieth anniversary of which the Historical Society will celebrate in September. Mr. Woods was to give his personal experiences of the riot, but he was prevented from attending by sickness. Arrangements will be made to have him present at some future meeting.

In the absence of the President, Mr. George Steinman, Mr. F. R. Dffenferffer, one of the Vice Presidents, occupied the chair. Two new members were elected, Miss Mary Martin and Miss Ida MacMillan, of this city, and the applications of Miss Mary Fritchey and Miss Martha Bowman were received.

The librarian, Charles T. Steigerwalt, announced the following contributions since the last meeting:

American Catholic Historical Society, December, 1910; Pennsylvania-German, February, 1911; Annual Report, Hamilton Library Association, of Carlisle, for 1910; Pamphlet of Memorial Services in Memory of Very Rev. Bernard Keenan; Proceeding of American Philosophical Society; Report of Librarian of Congress, 1910; American and English Genealogies From Library of Congress, 1910; from Bureau of American Ethnology, Handbook of American Indians, Volume II.; Pennsylvania-German, Linden Hall Echo, International Conciliation, for January; Bulletins New York Public Library, Carnegie Library of Pittsburg, and Grand Rapids Public Library; Catalogue of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents of C. T. Steigerwalt; Bulletin from Library of Congress; The Wilderness Trail, three volumes, by purchase.

The librarian was ordered to purchase Dr. Johann David Schoepf's Travels In the Confederation, 1783-1784.

The paper of the evening was prepared by request by a resident of Christiana, and was read by Mr. W. U. Hensel. The subject was "The Early Abolitionists of Lancaster County," and it is a most valuable contribution to the history of slavery and Lancaster county's part in the great issue.

Commenting on the paper that had been read, Mr. Hensel said he regretted that Peter Woods could not be present, as announced. He is likely the sole survivor of the Christiana Riot, and certainly the only person living in Lancaster county who ever had been indicted for the high crime of treason against the United States.

He was the subject of indictment No. 27, growing out of the so-called Christiana Riot, and was one of the large group of colored men who were incarcerated in Philadelphia for months, and who sat manacled all through the Hanway trial with Lucretia Mott at the head of their file and wearing red, white and blue neckties she had knit for them. Peter lives near Nine Points, and is a much respected colored man; he is a little stiff, but will be thawed out for the September celebration. Samuel Hopkins, referred to in the paper, was a characteristic negro fugitive slave; he used to own a corn cutter that he insisted was used in the fight, and it has been preserved and will be exhibited.

The sixty-year celebration is not intended to be a glorification of either party to the tragedy, nor to be a partisan memorial of the burning issue out of which it grew; but a popular historical study of a local event that attained national significance. The speaker showed how Governor Johnson, then a Whig candidate for re-election, passed over the railroad and through Christiana on his way to Philadelphia, shortly after Gorsuch was killed; and though many passengers on his train went in to see the slain victim of the affray, Governor Johnson did not appear sufficiently interested in its significance and this was urged against him and helped to defeat him. For a day or two the Philadelphia newspapers and the press of the country generally treated the event lightly; but it soon attained great proportions. Governor Johnson was fiercely assailed in open letters by the Gorsuch family; a mass meeting of protest was called in Independence Square by eminent Democrats to voice popular indignation; the

Governor of Maryland declared in an address to President Fillmore that if the citizens of this Commonwealth could not be protected in their stolen property that State would secede. Meantime, squads of troops, battalions of marines and scores of federal deputies marshal scoured the eastern end of the county and kept it in a ferment of excitement. All culminated in the great treason trial which lasted from November 30, 1851, until about December 14—John M. Read speaking for three days for the defense.

The celebration, therefore, will be significant and notable. Ex-Vice President Pugh, of the P. R. R., and State Senator W. C. Sproul, who were born in the vicinity; Congressmen Griest, of Lancaster, and Butler, of Chester, will act with an efficient citizens' committee from Christiana, Gap, Atglen and the Chester Valley—all working under direction of the Historical Society, to make it a success. An eligible site for a suitable marker is offered and a fit place will be found to hold the exercises of the occasion, which will include an elaborate history, an oration, poem and the presentation of the descendants of many of the participants.

Dr. J. W. Houston, who lived in the vicinity of Christiana at the time of the riot, added some interesting personal reminiscences, which proved most entertaining.

After some further discussion of the subject the society adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

APRIL 7, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD.
REMINISCENCE OF LANGDON CHEVES.
AN ANTI-SLAVERY REMINISCENCE.
MINUTES OF APRIL MEETING.

VOL. XV. NO. 4.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY.

LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

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The Underground Railroad.

Within a few months I sat one day in the reception room of the principal of one of our Eastern Pennsylvania preparatory schools. On the walls hung two small pictures of Abraham Lincoln, of the sort so often seen, with a quotation from his speeches or letters printed beside his pictured face. Seeing these, "I fell into a muse," as John Bunyan would say, and remembered that, in the days when Abraham Lincoln needed support in the awful struggle that led him down to his death, this same school, through its authorities, turned coldly from him, and, as far as it dared, numbered itself with his enemies. With these thoughts came into my mind the words of our greatest American poet:

"For humanity sweeps onward, where
to-day the martyr stands,
On the morrow crouches Judas, with
the silver in his hands;
Far in front the cross stands ready,
and the crackling fagots burn,
While the hooting mob of yesterday in
silent awe return
To glean up the scattered ashes into
History's golden urn."

These thoughts returned to me with greater force when, a few weeks ago, I received from your Corresponding Secretary and afterwards from Hon. W. U. Hensel the very kind and courteous invitation to address you this evening.

Having long been a student of history, I am ready to declare that never, since the dawn of Christian civiliza-

tion, has there been a people so given over to lust of money, place and power, so filled with race prejudice and hatred, as are the American people of to-day. And yet, in the midst of all this, it is to a group of intelligent, cultured Americans that I am asked to tell the story of men and women whose only claim to remembrance, to a place in history, is the fact that they risked life and property in succoring, clothing, feeding and helping on their way to freedom the poorest of the poor, members of a despised race, whose helpers were few indeed. An English writer has called the period during which opposition to the slave power arose and grew, "the martyr age of America." In all history there is to be found no other conflict in which the motives of those who took part were so entirely unselfish. Charles Sumner said nearly this: "Our cause is so much nobler than that in which our fathers fought, in that they contended for themselves, we for others."

Now to our story: Two histories of the Underground Railroad in Eastern Pennsylvania are in existence, one a large work compiled and published by William Still, of Philadelphia, in 1871, and another, prepared by Dr. Robert C. Smedley, of West Chester, edited after his death by Robert Purvis, of Philadelphia, and the present speaker, was published in 1883. The latter work is the better of the two for this paper, since it is a history only of operations in Chester and the neighboring counties of this State, and enters into much greater detail than does William Still's book.

Such books as these must necessarily be sketchy and defective as history. Men and women who did their work in daily peril of their fortunes and perhaps their lives, of course, kept no regular records. What was done

was done in great secrecy. Little was committed to paper till years afterward, when danger of detection and severe punishment had passed; but recollection also had become imperfect. Exact statistics are not obtainable. Indeed, had each family that took part in this work kept a record of the number of slaves succored this would give no idea of the whole number, since the same man or party of fugitives was passed from station to station, and thus the same names would appear many times upon the record.

The first recorded Underground Railroad work was done at Columbia in 1804, by William Wright. From that time until the outbreak of the Civil War, the work was carried on with greater or less activity in this county. The following is a list of those whose labors have been recorded:

Daniel Gibbons, Upper Leacock township, born 1775, died 1853.

Dr. Joseph Gibbons, born 1818, died 1883.

Dr. J. K. Eshleman, Strasburg, born 1810, died about 1893.

Thomas Whitson, Bart, 1796—1864.

Henry Bushong, Bart, 1783—1870.

Jacob Bushong, Bart, 1813—1880.

Jeremiah More, Christiana, born 1803, date of death unknown.

Joseph Hood, Bart, 1812—1866.

Caleb C. Hood, a brother, born 1817, died some time after 1883.

Lindley Coats, Sadsbury, 1794—1856.

Joshua Brinton, Salisbury, 1809—1892.

Thomas Bonsall, West Sadsbury, Chester county, just over the line from Christiana, 1797—1882.

Dr. Augustus W. Cain, of the same township, dates of birth and death unknown.

Lewis Peart, East Lampeter, 1808—1882.

Joseph Smith, Drumore, 1801—1878.

Oliver Furniss, Little Britain, 1794—1858.

John N. Russell, Drumore, 1804—1876.

Joseph C. Taylor, exact residence and dates of birth and death unknown.

Day Wood, Fulton.

Christian Frantz, East Lampeter, 1805—1890.

The borough of Columbia was the great depot at which fugitives landed. Several causes contributed to this. It was geographically convenient; a majority of the first settlers were "Friends," or "Quakers;" successive emancipations of slaves who came there from the South gave it a large and, at that time, industrious colored community. At the head of this were Stephen Smith and William Whipper, a firm of well-to-do lumber merchants. Stephen Smith was the largest stockholder in the Columbia Bank of that day, and, according to its rules, would have been president had it not been for his complexion. Being thus barred, he was given the privilege of naming the man who became president in his stead.

William Wright, a descendant of the man who laid out the town, was an active man, possessing thorough knowledge of the laws pertaining to slavery and great presence of mind. He passed many slaves on, and, when he heard of any being captured, took steps to secure their release. On several occasions it is related that he disguised men in women's clothing and sent them on to Daniel Gibbons. Slaves escaped at that time in such large numbers that the slave-holders paid a man a regular salary to remain in Columbia and intercept their property. The colored people, on one oc-

casion, caught a slave catcher, took him to the outskirts of the town, and gave him a sound whipping with hickory switches. Every slave that came from the South knew the north star, and that, by following it, he could reach a free State. In the paper read by Mr. Hensel, in March, a general description of the different lines is given; therefore, it is unnecessary to repeat. The first station after leaving Columbia, and the most important one in Lancaster county, was that of Daniel Gibbons. Prior to 1827, fugitives were sent from this place to the house of a Friend, or Quaker, named Jackson, who lived on the confines of what was then known as "the forest," in Robinson township, Berks county.

Lindley Coates was not an ordinary man. He was noted, to quote a biographer, "for his clearness of thought, soundness of judgment, steadiness of nerve, and executive ability." A natural leader of men, he was a masterly presiding officer at anti-slavery meetings. He was a clear reasoner, sagacious and terse in speech, a formidable antagonist in debate. From his house slaves, after being fed and clothed, were taken or sent to the nearest station in Chester county. Many of the more intelligent were directed how to proceed directly to Canada. After the Christiana riot many colored men came to the Coates place, were taken to the corn field, and hidden under the shocks, as Lindley and Deborah Coates were expecting the house to be searched by the deputy marshals and constables who were then scouring the country and arresting every colored man that they could find. During the absence of Lindley and his son Simmons (born 1821, died 1862), a party of these ruffians, for such they were, searched the house from cellar to garret, and

that without a warrant. About this time the Coates barn was burned as a punishment for its owner's anti-slavery activity. Lindley Coates was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1837, and, with Thomas Earle and Thaddeus Stevens, made most strenuous efforts to prevent the insertion of the word "white" into the organic law of the State as a restriction to the suffrage, but all without avail. He died, as he had lived, a true friend of freedom, and an able and worthy champion of the anti-slavery cause. Through his son, Simmons, he was the grandfather of the late Mrs. Marriott Brosius. Another son was Cor-Kersey Coates, the well-known business man of Kansas City, Mo.

Dr. J. K. Eshleman began his Underground Railroad work in 1840. He lived and practiced his profession at that time in Strasburg. Fugitives were sent to him by Daniel Gibbons. If men, they came on foot, with a slip of paper containing directions and telling where they came from; if women and children, they were brought in wagons. This was the custom, generally, of all agents.

Dr. Eshleman rarely asked fugitives any questions, further than to ascertain who sent them. The neighborhood of Strasburg contained at that time many bitter pro-slavery people, the favorite pastime of many of whom was breaking up anti-slavery meetings and burning Abolitionists' barns. On one occasion, when Lindley Coates took Charles C. Burleigh, the noted Abolition lecturer, to speak in that neighborhood, they were pelted with unmarketable eggs and their carriage stoned while on their way home. In 1848 Dr. Eshleman moved to Downingtown, and from that time he ceases to be a character in this veracious story.

Thomas Whitson, whose family physician was Dr. J. K. Eshleman, was a very active Underground Railroad man. His activity began about or prior to 1841. What a character he was! Eloquent and cogent in speech, sound in logic and wise in counsel! He was decidedly original and witty. Nature had denied to him personal comeliness; once, in illustrating in a speech the force of public opinion, he said: "Now, in p'int of beauty, public opinion is ag'in me!" When he and Lindley Coates took opposite sides in a debate "Greek met Greek." As an Underground Railroad man, he was very reticent. Hundreds of fugitives were taken care of, but no record was kept. Even his own children were seldom permitted to ask questions. The fugitives were sent by Daniel Gibbons, under charge of a reliable colored man, who had a signal by which to awaken Thomas without arousing other members of the family. Although he was widely known as an Abolitionist, his premises, even after the Christiana riot, were never searched. After that riot, he heard that a party of "special constables" was carrying off a colored man that had worked for him. He pursued and overtook them and asked for the man's release. One of them, on hearing who he was, advanced toward him, poured forth a volley of abuse, and, flourishing a revolver, asked if he were not one of the Abolitionists of that neighborhood. "I am," said the brave Quaker, "and I am not afraid of thy shooting me, so thee may as well put thy pistol down." The officer continued his invective, and, turning to another man, said: "Shall I shoot him?" "No," was the response, "let the old Quaker go." The next morning Thomas went to the officers with a neighbor who had seen the colored man at the

hour of the riot, several miles distant from the scene, proved this fact, and obtained his release. Thos, Whitson, Esq., of Christiana, is a son of the Abolitionist.

It is a matter for regret that a fuller account cannot be obtained of the Underground Railroad work of Henry Bushong. He was a most earnest and enthusiastic worker. Prior to 1831, he lived in Adams county, but about that time removed to Bart township, where his house became a well-known station. In 1832 a colored woman and her daughter came to him. I quote from Dr. Smedley's book: "The back of this poor woman was a most revolting spectacle for Christian eyes to behold. It had been cut into gashes by the master's whip until it was a mass of lacerated flesh and running sores.....In order to make her reveal the whereabouts of one of her children, who had escaped, she had been given 500 lashes with a cat-o'-nine-tails." As soon as she was sufficiently recovered she ran away and came to the Bushong home, where she was kindly and tenderly cared for until able to go on, and then taken to a station further east. Henry Bushong received many fugitives from John N. Russell, of Drumore, of whom I shall speak further on.

Jacob Bushong, son of Henry, was also an Underground Railroad Man. In 1831 a colored man calling himself William Wallace escaped, and, after working for friends in different neighborhoods, came, in the summer of 1835, to work for Jacob Bushong. In the meantime his wife and two children came to him from one of the Carolinas, and they had another child. In that summer, while he and Jacob were working in the barn, a party of slaveholders came, inquired for the colored man, and then went to his

house, took his wife and the two older children, also the wife of another colored man who had escaped at the same time with Wallace, and drove with them to Lancaster, where they lodged them in jail. This news spread throughout the country and was brought to Daniel Gibbons. The next morning he and his family were astonished by the appearance of the two women at their house. When asked how they came, one of them said: "I broke jail." "How did you do it?" The woman replied that she had found a caseknife and cut her way out! They were hidden in a wheat field, provided with blankets and food, and the next night were taken by Joseph Gibbons and Thomas Peart to the next station and thus passed on. The account given by these women was so incredible that Joseph Gibbons interviewed the eccentric "Devil-Dave" Miller, who was then Sheriff and Prison Keeper, and lived in the jail. When asked how it happened that he allowed two negro women to slip through his fingers, he winked and laughed. It was afterwards discovered that he opened the jail door and let them walk out. About the same year two colored men, named Green Staunton and Moses Johnson, had been sold to go far South, and, having been lodged temporarily at the jail at Frederick, Md., broke jail and ran to the house of their former master, who was the father of Staunton. He had compassion on them, gave them food, and assisted them on their way to Daniel Gibbons. In 1835 Staunton came to live with Jacob Bushong. Two years afterward six men entered his house, bound and gagged him, and took him to the Lancaster jail. The news of his arrest spread rapidly, and a committee of his friends, two

of whom were Henry and Jacob Bushong, decided to buy him from his captors. They went to Lancaster and agreed to pay \$675. He was liberated, and, before his departure for Canada, where he died, he had paid off a large part of this sum. The other colored man, Moses Johnson, hearing of his companion's capture, asked some friends to negotiate for his purchase. This they did, paying \$400 for him. In a few years he paid this back and then purchased a small farm and good buildings with his earnings. He died in 1873. Henry and Jacob Bushong were grandfather and uncle of Marvin E. Bushong, Esq., present Clerk of the Quarter Sessions Court.

Jeremiah Moore lived near Christiana and harbored many fugitives sent to him by Daniel Gibbons. He secreted them in an upper room of his house, and, when they were brought down to meals, the doors were bolted. Clothing was furnished them by the anti-slavery neighbors, and, when ill, they were carefully nursed back to health. From the Moore house they were sent to the nearest station, near Ercildoun, in Chester county.

In Bart township lived Joseph and Caleb C. Hood. One night, in the spring of 1843, eight fugitives came to their house at one time, brought by Joseph Smith, of Drumore. They were given food and hurried on, the pursuit being hot, to Lindley Coates, who secreted them til the following night and then sent them to the next station. One party of fugitives told the Hoods of having been brought from Baltimore to the Susquehanna by Rev. Charles T. Torrey. Mr. Torrey, on returning for another load, was arrested, taken to Baltimore, tried, sentenced to the penitentiary, and died during his imprisonment. He was a native of Massachusetts, a grad-

uate of Yale, cultured as he was brave. He gave up his pulpit and devoted his entire time to the Abolition cause. His plan of going among the slaves and urging them to run away was not approved by the majority of the Underground Railroad workers. He believed that, by doing this, property in slaves would be rendered so insecure that emancipation would be hastened. He died a martyr to his cherished plan of obtaining freedom for others.

After the Christiana riot, three colored men who had been engaged in it came to Caleb Hood's place. They were hidden in the woods nearby and in the house of a colored man and fed for two weeks, until the hue and cry were over, when they went to Canada. Many more incidents and hair-breadth escapes might be told of the Hoods.

The house of Joshua Brinton was not on any of the direct routes, but such were his kindness and sympathy for the colored people that many were directed to go to him, his home being called "a home for colored people." He was the father of Mrs. Mark Penn Cooper, of Christiana.

Thomas Bonsall and his son-in-law, Dr. Augustus W. Cain, though living just over the border, in Chester county, near Christiana, deserve mention because of their close connection with the work in this county. Thirteen fugitives were secreted in Thomas Bonsall's barn at one time after the passage of the fugitive slave law. The two women whom "Devil Dave" Miller let out of the Lancaster jail were taken to Thomas Bonsall, and by him guided one dark night to the house of an agent in Chester county. Thomas was a prominent Friend, or Quaker, occupying several official positions in the society. In his old age he was appreciated and honored by the colored people of Christiana and the neighbor-

hood because of his labors in their behalf. Dr. Augustus W. Cain was an original character. In answer to this question from your present speaker, Augustus, did thee have anything to do with the Christiana riot?" he said: "Yes, indeed; I was surgeon to the insurgent army on that day!" This because he removed bullets, one from the forearm of a colored man and one from the leg of another, after the conflict.

Lewis Peart was a quiet, cautious man, whose brave serenity and good judgment made him an excellent agent. Fugitives were sent to him direct from Columbia. He generally took them himself after dark to other stations. In 1844 he removed to Chester county and became a very active worker there.

Joseph Smith's was the most important station in "the Southern End." Thirteen fugitives came to him at one time, all from Virginia. Many farmers went to Baltimore from that neighborhood with loads of produce. Their colored teamsters were questioned by the slaves in that city concerning the southern Lancaster county stations. Many of these crossed the Susquehanna at Peach Bottom in a boat owned and rowed by a colored man, and were directed or taken thence to Joseph Smith's.

During the height of Rev. Charles T. Torrey's campaign, a party of twenty-two fugitives was brought to John N. Russell's house about twelve o'clock at night. Their pilot, a colored man, threw a pebble against the window of Friend Russell's sleeping-room, which aroused him and his wife. They came down, prepared a meal for them at this "witching hour," tumbled them into a four-horse covered wagon, and took them to the next station. When John N. Russell was about

ten years old, in 1814, a colored woman, the mother of two little children, was taken quite near his father's house, tied, gagged, thrown into a wagon, amid the cries of her little ones, and hurried off across the border. She was sold into Georgia, and her children grew up in the Russel family.

A thrilling, yet somewhat ludicrous story is told of Joseph C. Taylor.* Hearing one June morning that a colored girl had been kidnapped nearby and was being hurried to the Maryland line, he mounted a plow horse and followed the kidnappers. He had time to think, however, that he could do nothing without arms. Stopping

*The following data have been furnished by D. F. Magee, Esq.:

Joseph C. Taylor was born in the neighborhood of Kennett Square, in Chester county, about 1802, of Quaker parentage, and was of the family of Taylors well known in that section. In early life he learned the tanning trade at a tannery in Little Britain township, and for a short time before his marriage kept the hotel in Little Britain township, at Oak Hill. He married Susan Ring Twaddell, of Chester county, and immediately thereafter began keeping store, first at Oak Hill, and then at Ashville, in Little Britain township, which two villages are within a mile of one another. His first wife and two children he had by her, died within ten years of his marriage, and he afterwards married Jane _____, of Philadelphia, by whom he had a large family of boys, who grew to manhood: B. Frank, David M., John K., Edwin C. and Howard N. The first three became soldiers in the Union army, and John K. was killed in battle. David M. is President of the Farmers' Bank of Oxford, Edward C. was a prominent physician, and died in Oxford some years ago. B. Frank became prominent and was a Justice of the Peace at the time of his death, some ten years ago. Howard died in early manhood. Joseph C. Taylor, physically and mentally was a strong, rugged and always aggressive and fearless man. He was a militant Abolitionist, and in speech and action, in season and out, he contended for the freedom of the slaves. Located, as he was, some four to six miles north of the Mason and Dixon line.

at the store of a friend, he borrowed a gun and overtook the party about a hundred yards from the Maryland line. Riding around the wagon, he wheeled in the road, aimed the gun at the driver's head, and said: "Stir another foot and I'll blow your brains out." Naturally the party halted; he marched them back to a magistrate's office, had the girl discharged and the kidnappers put in jail. The best part of this true story is that, to quote Dr. Smedley, "The old gun hadn't a ghost of a load in it!" A Quaker gun, indeed, but it served its purpose.

Little Britain township possessed a faithful worker in the person of Oliver Furness, who was known as "the fugitives' friend." Such care was taken

and directly in or near the line of travel both of the Conowingo Ferry (and later bridge), as, also, the route up from the Eastern Shore, via Zion and Brick Meeting House (all Quaker country), he is believed to have handled, in conjunction with Oliver Furness, many fugitives, his being the first station in Pennsylvania, together with another at Griest's fording. During the most active period before the war he lived on a large farm, not far from the store, and between his farm and store there was quite a negro settlement of free negroes, called "Wolf Hollow;" and a mile or less westward from this was the Oliver Furness home, a very large farm, with buildings located over a hill, entirely out of sight of any public road. Both the Taylor farm and the Furness farm ran down to the Octoraro creek, as was likewise the Griest farm, at Griest's fording, four miles further south; and the legend is that the fugitives followed the course of the narrow valley of the Octoraro, which at that time was mostly wooded, and at several points, notably at Pine Grove, near the Furness farm, cave-like rocks afforded shelter and hiding in emergency. From Asheville to Christiana was about fourteen miles, and it was via Christiana that most fugitives were sent from this point. Joseph Taylor died in Asheville, April 26, 1876, and is buried in Oxford, Chester county, Pa. While it is believed he had a birthright in the Friends' Meeting he did not in his mature years affiliate with any Meeting nor was he a member of any other church.

by the Furness family, however, to keep silent upon the subject that no record of their work is obtainable.

The only Mennonite known to have taken any part in this work was Christian Frantz. He was an employer of colored men and helped them whenever necessary. Some time subsequent to 1840 a colored man known as Tom Gray worked for him. One day he was arrested by men, evidently kidnappers, taken to Lancaster and lodged in jail. Christian Frantz, Drs. Nathaniel Sample and Joseph Gibbons went immediately to Lancaster, had the man released on bail, going his security, and thus rescued him from his illegal claimants. He escaped, and was never seen in that neighborhood again. Kidnappers or owners were at Mr. Frantz's place twice once they searched the house, having a warrant so to do, but found no one but one of the sons, an invalid, in bed. "There he is," said one, seeing the young man's dark hair. His indignant "what do you want?" frightened them quickly away. On another occasion pursuit was so hot that a colored man hid in the hole used for dampening flax, on the banks of Mill creek, and, thus concealed, soon afterward made his escape. Christian Frantz was the grandfather of O. D. Brubaker, chairman of the Prohibition County Committee.

The first-known anti-slavery man in the Gibbons family was James Gibbons, 1734 or 5—1810. Born in Chester county, he moved, on his marriage in 1756, to the tract of land in this county on which his descendants still live. During or soon after the Revolution he moved to Wilmington, Del., then a borough, of which he was the second burgess. In 1789, while he was a magistrate, a colored man was brought before him by a party of kid-

nappers. They attempted, as usual, to carry thir case through by bluster; he told them, peremptorily, that "if they did not behave themselves he would commit them." He then set the man at liberty. In 1870 he returned to this county and here spent the rest of his life. He was interested, during his whole life, in helping fugitives to escape.

Daniel Gibbons, the elder of James Gibbons' two sons who arrived at manhood, was born on the banks of Mill Creek, in East Lampeter township, December 21, 1775. As soon as he arrived at manhood he began his Underground Railroad work, being his father's assistant. In 1808, while on a visit to Henry Bushong, who then lived not far from Gettysburg, he met Hannah Wierman, member of a well-known Quaker and anti-slavery family. They were married in 1815 and came to live in the house built by him, which still stands, in the southeastern part of Upper Leacock township, near the East Lampeter line. This immediately became a well-known station. Hard work at the tanner's trade, to which he was apprenticed in his youth, together with over-exertion during a pedestrian tour to Niagara Falls and Pittsburg in 1805, made Daniel Gibbons virtually a cripple, so that he was never able actually to run away with fugitives. He therefore took no active part in the wonderful adventures and hair-breadth escapes which his brain and tact rendered possible and successful. It is believed that no slave was ever recaptured that followed his directions. About 1818 or 1820 a colored man named Abraham Boston came to the Gibbons place and remained. He was an excellent man, and Daniel grew to love him as he would a brother. The kidnappers came one day and carried

him off. Daniel, at great risk, went in search of him to Baltimore, but, for some reason, could never get him back. This was the only person to rescue whom he ever went South. In setting forth this experience in his day-book he says, in conclusion: "O cruel man, how hast thou lost the image"—that is, of Deity. This man and one, perhaps two, girls were the only fugitives ever taken from the Gibbons home. Even concerning Abraham Boston, accounts differ, one saying that he was captured in Lancaster while on his way from Columbia with a load of lumber.

When a tap was heard on the window at night, all the family knew what it meant. The fugitives were taken to the barn, and in the morning were brought to the house separately, and each was asked his name, age, the name of his master, and from what part of the country he came. The host then gave him a new name, so that, by means of this alias, he could elude his pursuers. All these items of information he entered in a day-book, of which they finally filled about forty pages. This record was begun in 1824. In 1850, after the passage of the fugitive slave act, he cut these leaves out and burned them. Dr. Joseph Gibbons was absent from home at the time, and used to say that, had he been at home, this sacrifice would not have been made. I still have this book in my possession, with the edges of the destroyed leaves plainly visible. If fugitives expected their masters soon, they were hidden in the field or barn, or, if it was autumn, in the corn shocks for a few hours, and then taken to the road to Reading and hurried to the next station, the house of Friend Johnson, before mentioned. If immediate pursuit was not feared, they worked in the neighborhood for a

while. Some, guided by the north star, pressed on from station to station, directly to Canada. A relative wrote of this work as follows: "Many a dark night has he sent me to carry them victuals and change their places of refuge.....when not safe for him to go. I have known him to start in the night and go (drive) fifty miles with them when they were very hotly pursued." Two colored men, Thomas Colbert and John Stewart, lived long with him. John went back to Maryland and, at the risk of his life, brought his wife to the Gibbons house. Soon along came another man, Robert (other name unknown), in a bad plight, his feet bleeding. He was put into the barn to thresh until able to go on his journey. In a few days his master came, bringing with him the notorious Constable Haines, from Lancaster, and another man. They came suddenly upon Robert; he ran and jumped out of the "overshoot," ten feet down, dislocating his knee. The men ran around the barn and caught him. By this time Tom and John came up, with Daniel and Hannah Gibbons. Poor Robert owned his master, but John told them they should not take him and was about to strike them with a club. One of the men drew a pistol to shoot John, but Daniel Gibbons told him he would better not do this; this was not a slave State. As Robert had owned his master, Daniel told John he must submit, and they put the captured man on a horse and started away with him. After they were gone, John said: "Mr. Gibbons, just say the word and I will bring Robert back." The brave wife said: "Go, John, go." So John ran to a neighbor's, got a gun without any lock, ran across the fields, Tom with him, and headed off the party. The men all ran except Haines, who kept Rob-

ert between John and himself, so that John would not shoot him. John ordered Robert to get off the horse. This he did, and Tom and John brought him back in triumph. Hannah Gibbons said: "John, thee is a good fellow; thee has done well." Robert was taken to a neighbors, where the family physician set his knee, and, as soon as he was able, he, to quote the narrative, "took a bee line for the north star."

An anecdote is told of Haines, the aforementioned worthy, which illustrates Daniel Gibbons' methods. One day word was brought him that Haines was in the grove on the banks of Mill creek, carrying a gun. Daniel went down to the grove, when the following brief conversation took place: "Well, friend Haines, how is thee to-day?" "Good morning, Mr. Gibbons, very well, I thank you. I just thought I would come down here awhile and hunt squirrels." "Very well, Haines, go on and hunt. Thee will find many red squirrels and some gray ones, but never any *black* ones." On this hint, Haines' squirrel hunt was brief; came to a sudden end. In the winter of 1822, a colored man living with Daniel Gibbons went to the creek early in the morning to set traps for muskrats. While he was gone a slave-holder came and inquired for his slave, telling Daniel that they had come for a runaway nigger—black, five feet ten inches high, lost one of his front teeth, etc. To this description the friend listened in silence. What he would have done, had questions been asked, cannot be told; as the description suited him of the muskrats. But the visitor went on to say: "He is a very ornery nigger, no dependence to be placed in him nohow." "There is no man here," rejoined Daniel, greatly relieved, "who answers that descrip-

tion." "We've very good reason to think he came here," said one, "we got word very direct; reckon he's lyin' around here. Hain't there been no strange nigger here?" "There was a colored man here, but he has gone away; I don't know as he will ever come back again." The man had stayed away so long that it seemed probable that he had seen his pursuers and had sought shelter. "Tell him that his master says that if he will only come back again to Baltimore county he sha'n't be whipped nor sold nor nuthin', but everything shall be looked over." "I'll tell him what you say," said Daniel, "if I ever see him again, but," he added, regaining his accustomed independence, "I'll tell him, too, that if I was in his place, I'd never go back to you again." The pursuers left, and that night the fugitive sought a more secure hiding-place.

In 1833, while on his way to the West in a carriage, with Thomas Peart, Daniel Gibbons found a fugitive slave, a woman, in Adams county, who was in immediate danger. He stopped his journey and sent his horse and carriage back to his own home with the woman, that being the only way to save her.

Pursuit was sometimes hot indeed. Once her master come for a young girl. While Daniel Gibbons engaged him in conversation in the sitting-room, his wife hurried her out of the house, and turned over her an empty rain-water hogshead that was lying near. The premises were searched, of course, but no slave was found.

From his arrival at manhood until his death Daniel Gibbons assisted nearly 1,000 fugitives. When the fugitive slave law of 1850 was passed he was nearly seventy-five years old. After sorrowful reflection upon it, he said

to one of his household: "I have made up my mind to go to jail." He was willing to die in prison, as Torrey did, or to be robbed of every dollar that he possessed, as was the heroic Thomas Garrett, of Wilmington, a short time before. After that time, however, many slaves were passed through by rail, this being less dangerous.

When he passed to his rest a young man, son of one of his old friends, after attending his funeral, wrote as follows: "To paraphrase the words of Webster, we turned and paused and joined our voices with the voices of the air, and bade him hail! and farewell! Farewell, kind and brave old man, the voices of those whom thou hast redeemed welcome thee to the Eternal City."

No history of the Underground Railroad would be complete without some account of Hannah Wierman Gibbons, born in 1787, died 1860. What manner of woman she was, one incident will tell. In 1836 there came to her home from the great valley of Virginia a slave, one of the poorest, most ignorant and filthiest of mankind. He was footsore and weary, and could not tell how he came or who directed him. Evidently ill, he became rapidly worse. A physician was called in, who pronounced his case smallpox. Hannah Gibbons shut herself up in a room with him, and for six long weeks nursed him carefully and tenderly, until he was restored to health. When I related this incident to a friend, recently, she said: "And nowadays people aren't willing to ride in the street cars with colored people." A commentary upon our advance (!) in Christian civilization. Hannah Gibbons was a woman of fine intellect, and her patience, self-denial and warm affection were shown in every relation of life. As daughter, wife, mother,

friend and mistress of a family, she was beloved by all; the poor fugitives regarded her with a feeling akin to idolatry. Deeply religious, both she and her husband were elders in the Society of Friends. When near death, she aroused from her lethargy and asked if Abraham Lincoln was elected President of the United States, an event which took place about three weeks afterward. "Come ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world."

Dr. Joseph Gibbons was his father's faithful, earnest and enthusiastic assistant in this work, taking the active part that Daniel Gibbons' ill health prevented his taking. To an exciting midnight run, with a party of fugitives made when he was about sixteen years old, he attributed a difficulty in walking that troubled him during the rest of his life. In 1837, when about nineteen years old, he attended a convention which met in Harrisburg to organize an Anti-Slavery Society. In 1840 came the first organized political opposition to the slave power, in the nomination of James G. Birney, of Michigan, and Thomas Earle, of Philadelphia, for President and Vice President of the United States. Joseph Gibbons did not vote for them, thinking that the time was not ripe for general political action. He attended the convention held in Pittsburg, in 1844, which nominated Dr. F. J. Lemoyne for Governor of Pennsylvania, and voted that year for Birney and Thomas Morris, the latter a brave anti-slavery Democrat of Ohio. In 1845, Joseph Gibbons married, in Philadelphia, Phebe, eldest child of Thomas and Mary Earle. Of their own Underground Railroad work, after Daniel Gibbons' death, no record remains. I remember, when a small

child, the arrival of a party of sturdy black men. Naturally I asked whence they came; "From Richmond," was the reply. Learned in geography, I said, "From Richmond, Virginia, or Richmond, Indiana?" To this there was no reply. Such dangerous secrets were not told to children.

Joseph Gibbons possessed a mind little improved by education, but broadened, informed and strengthened by a wide range of reading; courage, both physical and moral, of the truest temper; a heart deeply and tenderly affectionate; a cheerful disposition, keen sense of humor and fondness for hearing and telling good stories, and, above and beyond all, a "heart hatred" of cruelty and oppression and a deep interest in every movement that had for its object the uplifting of the human race.

Underground Railroad men were greatly annoyed, both by decoys, pretended runaways, sent to them by kidnappers, and by white men who came ostensibly on other business, but were really spies for the slave catchers. Daniel Gibbons possessed great skill in detecting both these classes. For the purpose of watching all unwelcome visitors, the lane from the public road to the house was laid out around two sides of a field, instead of leading directly to the yard, as would have been more convenient. Hand-bills and newspapers advertising fugitives were frequently sent to Daniel Gibbons. Of these I have a small collection which is, I think, of historical interest.

A troublesome band was known as "the Gap gang." Led by the notorious William ("Bill") Baer, they robbed hen roosts and smoke houses, acted as guides to kidnappers or masters, or as deputy constables or just plain man-stealers.

Amid all their dangers the Under-

ground Railroad men had a brave and able helper in Thaddeus Stevens, of whose labors in this field the half will never be told.

Such is my simple story.

It may be worth mentioning that, of the men and women whose labors I have described, all but two, or perhaps, three, were members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. Their own poet, Whittier, had thus adequately portrayed them:

The Quaker of the olden time!
 How calm and firm and true,
 Unspotted by its wrong and crime,
 He walked the dark earth through.
 The lust of power, the love of gain,
 The thousand lures of sin
 Around him had no power to stain
 The purity within.

He felt that wrong with wrong partakes,
 That nothing stands alone,
 That whoso gives the motive, makes
 His brother's sin, his own.
 And pausing not for doubtful choice
 Of evils great or small,
 He listened to that inward voice
 Which called away from all.

O, spirit of that early day,
 So pure and strong and true,
 Be with us in the narrow way
 Our faithful fathers knew.
 Give strength the evil to forsake,
 The cross of Truth to bear,
 And love and reverent fear to make
 Our daily lives a prayer!

Accompanying Mrs. Brubaker's interesting paper, and in illustration of its text, she exhibited to her audience a large number of handbills and newspaper clippings of the period 1830-40, offering rewards for runaway slaves. A few specimens of them are herewith appended:

RUNAWAY.

On Saturday night, 22d instant, from the farm of the late Elizabeth Brown, deceased, near Centreville, Fairfax County, Virginia—a negro man named Wm. Warner, said negro is about six feet high, quite likely and 33 years of age. He rode off a young bay horse fifteen hands high and took a good many clothes, some very good, and a

black fur hat. A reward of \$50 will be given for him if taken in the State of Virginia or the District of Columbia, and of \$100 if taken and secured, so I get him again out of either.

CHARLES T. LEWIS,
Executor of E. Brown.

Aug. 29—3t.

\$100 REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber on the 1st of May last, my negro man named

HAMLET,

who sometimes takes the name of Green. He is stout made, high forehead, full eyes, talkative and politely behaved, very fond of ardent spirits, and about 28 years of age, he took with him a full bred yellow and white setter dog; the above reward will be given for delivering the said negro to me in this city or securing him in any jail so that I can get him.

HENRY V. SOMERVILLE.

Baltimore, July 15. 50—8t.

STOP THE THIEVES.

\$500 REWARD.

Stolen from the undersigned, a carriage and horses, by his slave, George Queen, a molatto man, aged about 41 years, five feet 8 inches high, stoutly made, of a bad countenance.

Also, a Black Woman, his wife Suck, aged about 32 years with a child at the breast about six months old.

Also, her child Aaron, about 14 years old, who has a scar on the breast and neck, caused by a burn.

Also, her child Caroline, aged about 11 years; also, his child Isaac, a very stout child, aged 6 years.

Also, his child, Seney, aged about 4 years.

Of the above reward, the sum of Two Hundred Dollars for the apprehension of George, One Hundred Dollars for that of his wife Suck and her child Grafton, and Fifty Dollars for each of the other children will be given, so that they can be secured in some jail in Maryland where the above reward will be paid with all reasonable expenses.

The undersigned is provided with witnesses to prove the right of property should the above described Thieves and slaves be taken in Pennsylvania agreeable to the laws of that State.

The above thieves absconded with the Carriage and horses and other property of the undersigned on the night of Friday the 19th of July inst: They have taken much clothing and bedding with them and are no doubt all in company wherever found.

ANTHONY KIMMEL,

Near New Market Frederick County,
Maryland, July 21, 1839.

A Reminiscence of Langdon Cheves

In an examination of the many curious legal questions growing out of the rights and liabilities of slaves from another State venturing upon the free soil of Pennsylvania, there is a reported case in 1814 which has a peculiar local interest because the slave owner was that same Langdon Cheves who aforetime resided at Abbeyville, near this city, and who has several times been the subject of papers in this Society. The case is entitled Commonwealth ex rel. Negro Lewis vs. Holloway, and is reported in 6 Binney 213. Before Cheves resided in Lancaster, it will be remembered, he was not only President of the Bank of the United States, but had been for a long time a member of Congress and Speaker of the House of Representatives. Before he had sojourned in Pennsylvania for the purpose of more conveniently discharging his duties as a member of Congress, and without any intention to become domiciled here, Lewis, his slave, absconded from his service in Germantown, where Cheves lived with his family during the Congressional vacation.

An old law of Pennsylvania, enacted March 1, 1770, prescribed that no man or woman of any nation or color, except negroes and mulattos who had been registered as former slaves, should be held other than as free men and free women; but it was expressly provided and excepted that the domestic slaves of members of Congress and

foreign ministers, or persons passing through or sojourning in the State, might be considered slaves, provided they were not retained in the State longer than six months. Mr. Cheves having resided in the State, in the manner stated, more than this length of time, it was argued that his slave was thus made free.

The case was elaborately argued by lawyers of the distinction of Rawle and Sergeant, and the opinion was written by Tilghman, Chief Justice. The other Judges, Yeates and Brackenridge, expressly concurred. One of the matters of history relied upon by the Court in refusing to set the slave free was that Congress had sat in Philadelphia ten years, during all of which time the members from the Southern States were attended by their slaves without molestation. To hold that they could only retain their slaves in Philadelphia while Congress was in session was held by the Court to subject the Southern members to great inconvenienc by the necessity of giving up their residence in this State during the recess of Congress, or losing the services of their domestics. Finally the Chief Justice says:

"In the case of Mr. Cheves this inconvenience would be very great indeed, because there was a session of Congress between March and December, his return to Charleston by water was cut off, and it was impossible to say whether the events of the war might not have induced the President of the United States to convene the Congress before the month of December. We all know that our Southern brethren are very jealous of their rights on the subject of slavery, and that their union with the other States could never have been cemented without yielding to their demands on this point. Nor is it conceivable that the

Legislature of Pennsylvania could have intended to make a law, the probable consequence of which would have been the banishment of the Congress from the State. I am therefore of opinion that the true construction of the law is that which is impressed on the mind by its first reading, that is to say, that the domestic slaves of members of Congress who were attending on the family of their masters even during its recess, gain no title to freedom, although they remain in the State more than six months, whether the seat of Congress be in Pennsylvania or elsewhere. According to this construction, the prisoner is to be remanded to the custody of the jailer."

An Anti-Slavery Reminiscence

The Society is indebted to Dr. Geo. L. Cassel for the privilege of abstracting from the diary of his father, the late Abraham Cassel, of Marietta, an interesting account of his experience as a juror in the United States Court in a famous civil case, growing out of the fugitive slave act and about a year after the "Christiana riot." Mr. Cassel records the facts and reflects his opinions of the case in a memoir which has great personal and local interest. Substantially he says:

In the fall of 1852 I and others in the State were summoned as jurors to the District Court of the United States in the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia. After serving on several juries a fugitive slave case came up that was first tried in Cumberland county several times and was finally heard by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. It decided the State Courts had no jurisdiction in the matter. It was transferred to the United States Court. The plaintiff's claim was for the value of eighteen or twenty slaves that had run away from a widow in Maryland, and came onto the property of Mr. Kauffman, of Cumberland county, Pa. Being entirely destitute, some of them applied at the house for food, which, it was proved, Kauffman furnished them. In a short time the fugitives disappeared; their owner brought a suit for the value of the slaves under the fugitive slave laws of the United States against Mr. Kauffman, because he furnished food and shelter and thereby facili-

tated their escape and their owner's loss.

When the case, thus handed over by the State Courts to the Federal jurisdiction, came before the District Court, on the first trial the jury disagreed. When it was heard before the jury of which I was a member, counsel of the distinction of Geo. M. Dallas, Vice President under Polk—and David Paul Brown, the great criminal lawyer of the Philadelphia "Forum"—appeared in the cause. After their extended and impassioned arguments, the Judge charged the jury on a Thursday. In his charge he said the testimony in the case was conflicting and he would not charge on it. The jury retired to their room on Thursday afternoon; after organizing they began to discuss the matter. Three or four were from Philadelphia city, three from Berks, Montgomery and Bucks, three from Lancaster and the rest from the country west. The trial and speaking stirred the question then agitating the public, and we soon found by investigating that it would require time and patience to get any result. After discussing the testimony the jury found that the merits of the case depended upon some of the new testimony introduced at this trial, nearly all introduced since the former trials in the State Courts and strongly objected to.

On the first vote the jury stood five, four, three. The five were for allowing the whole claim of the widow; the four allowed nothing, the three were willing to give the same as the jury gave in the State Court. The five represented the Democrats, the four represented the whigs, the three the Free Soil Democrats. It will be seen by the above that the division of the jury indicated in part the political feeling of the day. The dis-

cussions continued from day to day—taking a vote two or three times a day until Saturday night, with very little or no change. We concluded to send for the Judge and get him to discharge us, as there was no prospect of the jury agreeing to any verdict.

After the Judge arrived one jurymen stated to the Judge we could not agree and wished to be discharged. He said this matter had now been in the Courts for years and would never get out if he continued to discharge the juries for disagreeing. One of the jurymen then remarked to the Judge that in his charge he stated the testimony was in some cases so conflicting that he could not charge us on it. One of the jurymen then asked the Judge if he could not reconcile the testimony how he expected us to do it. He then arose and said: "Gentlemen of the Jury, I will be here all next week, and Judge Kane will be here all winter;" thus ended the second week of the trial under one of the most infamous laws ever enacted, particularly so for us jurors, who were expected to give a verdict according to law and testimony.

The Marshal marched the jury back to the Old State House, in Chestnut street, where we lived on light rations and without beds till the next Saturday night. It is scarcely necessary here to state that during these seven days and nights the jury fully discussed slavery and the fugitive slave law, deprived of all information from the outside world, and allowed only one regular meal per day, without bedding.

The jurymen, all, no doubt, were honest and conscientious; but they acted out their convictions of the day, showing the prevailing political feeling of the day on the slavery question. This occurrence took place after

the Christiana affair in Lancaster county, where a slave owner was shot and killed by his slave while trying to arrest him; and public feeling was intensified by the acts of the slave power in legislation, particularly the repealing of the Missouri Compromise and the fugitive slave laws under which we were acting in trying the case the jury was then engaged in. To those of us who were not in sympathy with slavery it seemed unjust to punish a peaceable citizen of the State for giving a little food to a number of fugitive slaves who came to his barn at night without his direction or assistance as far as we knew. After they got the food and water they disappeared; nothing later had been heard or known of them. Mr. Kauffman was sued for the alleged value of the slaves, over \$20,000—much more than all the man was worth. The last trial tried to implicate a number of persons who were not charged with a breach of the law in the former trials in the State or U. S. Courts. It was here the conflicting testimony came in on which the Judge said he would not charge us.

The jury was composed of one former member of Congress from Perry county, two or three former members of the Legislature of Lancaster county, several from Bucks, Chester, Berks and Philadelphia. Being business men of several occupations and parties, the jury fully represented the feeling of the people on all questions of the day.

The country was agitated over the conduct of the South and felt the encroachment that was being made yearly on the North and West, so that when this jury was selected the members partook of the feelings of the day, each one holding the idea that he had assumed the correct ground. We

consumed nearly three weeks before a verdict was reached, and it was nearly the same as was given at the first trial at the State Court at Carlisle, years before. If we take into consideration the fact that a large majority of the jurymen were hostile to slavery, and particularly those of them known as "Free Soil Democrats," it is notable that none was willing to disregard his oath taken to try the case according to the law, though it was repugnant to a large number of all classes of the people of the North.

Minutes of April Meeting.

Lancaster, April 7, 1911.

The growing interest in the work of the Lancaster County Historical Society was again evidenced this evening, when a very large number of persons attended the monthly meeting of the organization. The society room was crowded, and it was necessary for a number of persons to stand. The series of papers on the Christiana Riot, which are being read before the society, have attracted wide attention, and they will do much to bring about the success of the big celebration which it is planned to hold in September near the site of the riot.

Two new members were elected, Miss Mary Fritchey and Miss Martha Bowman, and one proposal was received, that of Mrs. Thomas B. Cochran.

Librarian Steigerwalt announced the following donations:

New York State Library Report for 1908, three volumes; Wisconsin Historical Society Proceedings for 1910; Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, 1910; German-American Annals for September-December, 1910; American Catholic Historical Researches for April, 1911; The Pennsylvania-German for March, 1911; Valley Forge Park Commission Report for 1910; The Public Schools of Madison, N. J., from the author, Fred. B. Bardon; three photographs of the Columbia Bridge, one before and two after it was blown down, September 24, 1896,

from Benjamin Hookey, Conestoga Centre; History of Downingtown, by Rev. Lewis Seymour Mudge, D.D.; Churches of the Valley, by Harvey Lutz; The Hive, 1803 and 1804, by Miss Elizabeth A. Simpson; Marked Graves in six churchyards in Lancaster and Chester counties—manuscript of 150 pages—by B. F. Owen, Reading; three pictorial postcards, Lemon street public school, crematorium, fall-time at Rocky Springs, by D. B. Landis; History of St. Mary's Church, Lancaster, by Rev. H. G. Ganss; The Judiciary of Franklin county.

A special vote of thanks was extended Mr. B. F. Owen for his most valued donation.

The committee appointed to arrange for the Christiana riot celebration reported, through Mr. Hensel, that they had visited Christiana and enlisted the interest of a large number of citizens in the affair. An offer of gold prizes for the best essay on the Christiana riot written by pupils of the High Schools of Christiana and Atglen had been made by an individual of this city, and these essays will be submitted to the judges by the first of July. The committee has communicated with the descendants of Castner Hanway and others who were principals in the riot, and they have offered to co-operate in making the celebration a success. Governor Crother, of Maryland, and Governor Tener, of Pennsylvania, have accepted invitations to be present at the exercises. The committee had also communicated with the grandsons of Judge Kane, who presided over the trial of the persons charged with treason growing out of the riot, and they have offered to the committee the use of any records of the famous trial

which are among the effects of their grandfather. Relatives of the Gorsuch family have also expressed their interest in the event. Everything points to probably the most successful historical celebration the society has yet held.

The principal paper of the evening was contributed by Mrs. Marianna G. Brubaker, of Bird-in-Hand, her subject being "The Underground Railroad in Lancaster County." Mrs. Brubaker told a most entertaining story of the men and women "whose only claim to remembrance, to a place in history, is the fact that they risked life and property in succoring and clothing, feeding and helping on their way to freedom the poorest of the poor members of a despised race whose helpers were few, indeed."

Two other brief, but interesting, papers on the slave question were read by Mr. W. U. Hensel. One was a reminiscence of Langdon Cheves and of the rights of slaves in free Pennsylvania, and the other an interesting experience of the late Abraham Cassel, of Marietta, who was a juror in the United States District Court at Philadelphia in a famous civil case growing out of the fugitive slave law.

All the papers were discussed, among those participating being Dr. J. W. Houston, D. F. Magee, Esq., H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., Mr. Hensel, Mrs. Brubaker and others.

A vote of thanks was extended to both Mrs. Brubaker and Mr. Hensel for their papers, which were referred to the proper committee.

Adjourned.

PAPERS READ
BEFORE THE
LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MAY 5, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

SIDELIGHTS ON SLAVERY.

THE ATTITUDE OF JAMES BUCHANAN (A CITIZEN
OF LANCASTER COUNTY) TOWARDS THE
INSTITUTION OF SLAVERY IN THE
UNITED STATES.

MINUTES OF MAY MEETING.

VOL. XV. NO. 5.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY.

LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

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SIDELIGHTS ON SLAVERY

In presenting this paper to our Society it is with no expectation of giving you anything new, startling or of great value. It only deals with sundry items which have been omitted by the preceding writers on the present subject, and which, however, seemed to be sufficiently interesting to be worth recording.

In the earliest tax list for Lancaster in existence, in the year 1754, which Mr. H. Frank Eshleman gives us in his paper, Vol. XIII., No. 10, we learn that at that date there were seven slaves owned and held in the borough. They belonged, respectively, to "David Stout, Isaac Morris, Adam Lyon, Geo. Sanderson and Elizabeth Smout, a widow." Each of these persons owned one slave; the two others were the property of Valentin Cruz (Krug), one of the very few instances to be found of the German slave-holder, for, as a rule, they belonged to the English-speaking population. But even long prior to this date there were negroes held as slaves throughout the county.

From the wills on record at our Court House we learn that the blacks were looked upon as property and bequeathed as such. Take, for instance, the will of Rev. James Anderson, pastor of Donegal church. Under date of July 14, 1740 (A. 48), he leaves to his wife, Rebecca, "ye use and services of the Negroe winch Dinah;" to his son, James, "the negro man Plines," and to his daughter, Susannah, "the negroe winch, Bell."

(Book C, page 60)—Josiah Scott, of

Hempfield township, September 5, 1760, leaves to his wife, Mary, "his Negro winch Nan."

(Book C, page 91)—John Torbit, of Leacock township, leaves his wife, Jean, "the use of my negroe girl during her life," and after his wife's death to his son, John. August 21, 1762.

(C, page 146)—John McConnell, of Colerain township, leaves to his son, William, "my negro boy called Antoney," and gives directions for the sale of "my negro Winc called Lemon, and her daughter, called Marce." July 19, 1773.

(C, page 156)—David Davis, of Earl township, leaves to his son, John, his "Negro Man Jack, and Negro Woman, Sal." October 10, 1768.

(C, page 165)—Evan Edwards, of Earl township, leaves to his son, Thomas, "a negro boy called Caesar," and to his daughter, Elizabeth, "a negro boy called Jo." May 30, 1771.

(C, page 232)—John Peden, of Hempfield township, leaves to "daughter, Esabella, Dina ye Negroe Girl." Will proved November 7, 1775.

(C, page 384)—Thomas Simpson, of Paxton township, leaves to "my wife, Nan, the Labour of my Negro Wench Nanny, to assist in raising my children." February 10, 1777.

Others might be quoted, but these are sufficient.

In consulting some sixty or seventy wills, only one or two were found in which the master desired the manumission of a slave, and one was the testament of Robert McCally, of Salisbury township (page 232), dated January 15, 1774, in which he directs that his "Negro Man Joseph" be set free four years after his death.

Another is the will of John Jenkins, of Caernarvon township (C, page 448), dated August 25, 1774. In his own

words: "And whereas I have hired my Negroeman Quash to my Son, John, for Eleven Years from the first day of March, 1772, at the end of which Time I do allow my said Negroeman to be free from serving any Person on my Account. And I give my Negroe woman Cooba to my daughter Rebekah; but if my Negroeman Quash will be able to pay my Daughter the sum of Forty Pounds any Time within three Years after the Expiration of the said Eleven Years, then my Will is that my said Negro woman be free and serve no Person any longer on my Account than til the said Forty Pounds are paid."

This is interesting as showing what money value was placed upon a female slave, and verifies the statement made in "A Century of Population Growth," page 140, that the average price of negroes in 1790 varied from \$150 to \$200. Public feeling was against the manumission of slaves, as the presence of the free negroes caused much dissatisfaction with their condition among those of the race who were still the property of their masters.

So much for the records of the Court House. The next paragraphs are gleaned from the advertising columns of the Lancaster Journal:

February, 1804—Jared Neal offers for sale "the time of a negro boy who has thirteen years to serve. He has had the smallpox and measles"—evidently considered a recommendation.

August 13, 1806—"The time of a mulatto girl who has six years to serve. She can do any kind of housework, and is to be disposed of for want of employment. For terms apply to the printer."

December 5, 1806—"The time of a stout, able-bodied Negro Man who has a term of years to serve. He is acquainted with farming, and understands the

business of a house servant. Enquire of John Kerr, Prisonkeeper."

September 6, 1805—"The time of a Mulatto Boy, about thirteen years of age, to serve until twenty-eight."

July 1, 1808, is found this advertisement:

FOR SALE.

The time of a black man, who has nine years to serve. He is very stout and healthy; he would prefer going to a forge, where he might have an opportunity of learning that business. For terms, apply to the subscriber, living in Salisbury township, Lancaster County. JACOB McDILL.

That the negroes were allowed to learn trades is proved by the following:

July 12, 1805—John Croll, of Middletown, offers \$12 reward for the lodging in jail of a "negro man named Bill Bevis," "a tanner by trade."

Runaways were by no means unusual in those days. November 15, 1805, William Hamilton offers \$200 reward for the taking up and securing "in goal" two runaway negroes, Adam and Ephraim, slaves. They are thus described: "Ephraim, about 17 or 18, very black, never had the mark of a switch on him before he run off. Adam, 36 years old, 'has several marks of the switch on his back.'" He had "been branded on the right cheek with the letter R for his former villainy." He goes on to say, "their clothing I don't think worth while to mention, as I suppose they can easily change them."

On August 29, 1806, Jonathan Royer offered \$20 for the putting in jail of a negro man, Thomas Morgan—Leacock township.

April 21, 1806, under the heading, "Eloped," Samuel Neeper, of Little Britain township, offers \$50 reward for the return of a "negroe boy," Jack. He is described as "impudent in discourse and remarkable for loud laughing."

In the records of St. James' Church there is frequent mention of the baptisms and burials of the colored people. The Year Book of 1800, page 102, speaks of "the old sexton, John Webster, a colored man, and his wife, Dinañ, who used to rustle past in her old-fashioned silks, apron and 'kerchief.'" Some were buried in the churchyard, and tradition tells us that the part facing directly on North Duke street was their resting place. When the church was built, in 1750, a place was reserved at its western end as "Seates for Servants and Negroes," and in 1769 (page 128) "a rail and banisters fixed to the end of pew No. 12, to prevent the persons who take that pew from being inconvenienced by servants and others who at present have easy access thereto and often take possession of it."

Here are a few of the records of baptisms:

April 18, 1783: "Louise, Flavia and James, slaves of Paul Zantzinger."

January 1, 1786: "Priscilla, a negro child of Mary, a slave of Robert Lockham."

February 14, 1786: "Phoebe, a negro woman, slave of William McCally."

April 4, 1784: "William Brown (negro), son of Mary and Caesar Brown."

July 12, 1793: "Mazete Reeds, (a negro man of Robert Reeds.)"

Very curt are the marriage records:

August 1, 1773: Tom and Catharine (negroes).

September 2, 1773: London and Judy (negroes).

From Chester county comes the following inscription. It holds the story of a lifetime:

"Erected by the Great Valley Baptist Church in memory of Phillis Burr, who was born in Africa. Brought to America in the slave ship Ganges, and

sold into slavery to pay for her passage, and died April 18, 1872, aged nearly 100 years."

To return to the Lancaster Journal. Its columns have many advertisements for the return of fugitive slaves. They came from Maryland, Virginia and even from Tennessee. In fact, Lancaster county appears to have been a Mecca for those who, prompted by that love of liberty which seems to be in-born in the human breast, sought freedom from the toils and shackles of slavery. Some of these runaway notices are of sufficient interest to claim your attention, and a few have been copied:

SEPT. 30, 1808.

FIFTY DOLLARS REWARD.

Run away from the subscriber, on the 1st inst, two negro fellows, named James and Abraham. James is about five feet high, 30 years of age, and of a pleasant countenance when spoken to. Abraham is about five feet eight or nine inches high, about 25 years old, rather of a sulky disposition. Their clothing cannot be described, as James was in possession of different suits, and it is probable he may furnish the other with a change. It is expected they will endeavor to get into the State of Pennsylvania. I will give the above reward and all reasonable charges for securing or bringing the above fellows home.

WILLIAM MORGAN.

London County (Virg.).

JULY 8, 1808.

STOP THE RUNAWAY.

Ran away from me, living between Harper's Ferry and Charlestown, Jefferson County, Virginia, on Whitsunday last, a stout negro slave, called Ben Johnson, of a black complexion, very white teeth, and rather a smiling countenance when speaking. He is about 32 years of age, and 5 feet 10 inches high; his clothing need not be described, as he frequently exchanges it, but he may be known from the following circumstances: He is a great thief and very lazy; and knows no kind of business but farm work; is a very good reaper, reaps with his left hand, and generally uses it instead of his right; across the back of his left

hand has a long scar. He is very artful and talkative, a great pretender to religion and preaches. Some time ago he possessed, as I am informed, a license to preach, signed by Bishop Asbury, which was doubtless a forgery, and he probably has other spurious papers. I believe he has gone to the Northward, in hopes to procure his freedom, for he went off without warning or provocation, at a time when he was not likely to be missed for two days. I will give 25 dollars reward for securing him in any jail so that I get him again, over and above any lawful charges, or 50 dollars for bringing him home.

JOHN YATES.

30 DOLLARS REWARD.

Ran away from the subscriber, living in Baltimore County, Maryland, a mulatto servant man, named Jack, about 42 or 43 years old, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high, middling slim built. Had on and took with him an old woollen hat, the crown sewed in with thread; a flax-chained shirt, filled with tow, tow trousers, a lead-coloured, home-made woollen waist-coat, and an old pair of shoes. He was formerly owned by Mr. Thomas Airs, of Harford County, Maryland.

ELISHA GORSUCH.

July 7, 1809.

Perhaps this is the most interesting of all, as this Elisha Gorsuch was probably a member of the same family which was connected with the Christiana Riot.

The Attitude of James Buchanan (a Citizen of Lancaster County) towards the Institution of Slavery in the United States

It is the happy and appropriate function of an historical society, with even the local limitations of ours, to fearlessly explore and faithfully chronicle the events of general interest which occur within its sphere, to determine and record the actual facts, discriminating the false and true; to cherish and perpetuate the traditions which hang around men and things, even though somewhat nebulous; to cultivate and preserve ideals of virtue, courage, patriotism and sacrifice; and to rightly relate our own local doings, in their origin and influence, with movements along lines and towards ends of State, national and world significance.

Thus it happens that, while we have been considering the various local phases under which the questions of slavery and abolitionism took concrete form in Lancaster county, and are approaching a popular celebration which will commemorate and illustrate this mighty issue of American politics in the last century, it is fit we view the attitude toward this question of the two citizens and public officials of Lancaster county who, of all in their day, reached the highest places and wielded the largest influence in the Federal Government. The lives of Thaddeus Stevens and James Buchanan, neither native to the county, and both becoming illustrious representatives of it, covered substantially the

same period of time. Mr. Buchanan came to the county much earlier than Mr. Stevens; he had achieved and ended his career as a lawyer long before Stevens entered upon practice here; and, while both were eminently successful as lawyers, they seldom encountered each other in politics, and were in no sense rivals at the Bar. Indeed, Mr. Buchanan's public career was practically ended before Mr. Stevens had ever attained anything like leadership of his party or in Congress. They were radically different in every element of their make-up; and this difference was highly accentuated by the circumstance that Mr. Buchanan's career covered a period when statesmanship was directed toward a compromise and evasion of the slavery question; while Mr. Stevens forged to the front when a consideration of the issues of abolitionism and universal suffrage irresistibly overwhelmed all other public questions and submerged those who would have obstructed their consideration.

A defter and perhaps more sympathetic hand than mind will sketch for you Mr. Stevens' relations to this question, which involve far more romantic interest than attaches to my theme. It must not be overlooked, however, that, first of all, Mr. Buchanan was born soon after the organization of the Federal Government, when no question of the abstract right of a negro slave to be freed was considered; when, as Chief Justice Taney said, with absolutely judicial accuracy, in the famous Dred Scot decision, in all the governments of the earth it was assumed the negro had no civil rights that the white man was bound to respect. Mr. Buchanan sprang from a race that always respected the rights of property, as well as the rights of man. He was born of a

household and into a church wherein liberty is regulated by law, and whose children were taught obedience to authority. His professional allegiance to Court and Constitution compelled him to measure ethical duties by the statutory standard.

Before he was elected to a seat in the House at Washington his constituents knew his views on the slavery question. At a largely-attended and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Lancaster, held in the Court House November 27, 1819, at which Hon. Walter Franklin presided, a committee of three framed the resolutions, which were adopted. They protested most vigorously against the existence of slavery in, or its extension into, the territories or new States. With James Hopkins and William Jenkins on that committee was associated James Buchanan.

Mr. Buchanan in his long public career more than once admitted that he had in later years changed some of the political views he entertained in his youth. Thus he recanted the first part of his memorable 1815 Fourth of July speech, which, by the way, had disappeared from all records and escaped the most vigorous search; and the writer of this paper was fortuitously instrumental in restoring it to his now complete works. So, in later years, he repudiated his assent to the resolutions of the anti-slavery meeting of his fellow-townsmen. In a private and confidential letter from Wheatland, March 16, 1850, to Jefferson Davis—who advised him that Simon Cameron had revamped them from an old Lancaster newspaper of 1820—Mr. Buchanan rather timidly wrote as follows:

"It may be & doubtless was the fact that in 1819 or 1820 my name was placed on a committee which re-

ported the resolutions to which that scamp General Cameron refers. I was then a young man—had a great veneration for the chairman of the committee as my legal preceptor, & probably was under the influence of the excitement then universal in Pennsylvania.”

In favoring the Missouri compromise line, which allowed the people only of a new State or Territory south of that latitude to establish slavery if they saw fit, Mr. Buchanan undoubtedly abandoned the Lancaster resolutions of 1819. None the less, it is manifest he had a conscientious belief that this would settle the slavery agitation and avert disunion.

His first Congressional declaration on the institution of slavery was in the course of a speech in the House of Representatives April 22, 1826, when in discussing the Panama mission, he incidentally said:

“Permit me here, for a moment, to speak upon a subject to which I have never before adverted upon this floor, and to which, I trust, I may never again have occasion to advert. I mean the subject of slavery. I believe it to be a great political and a great moral evil. I thank God, my lot has been cast in a State where it does not exist. But, while I entertain these opinions, I know it is an evil at present without a remedy. It has been a curse entailed upon us by that nation which now makes it a subject of reproach to our institutions. It is, however, one of those moral evils from which it is impossible for us to escape without the introduction of evils infinitely greater. There are portions of this Union in which, if you emancipate your slaves, they will become masters. There can be no middle course. Is there any man in this Union who could, for a moment, indulge in the horrible idea

of abolishing slavery by the massacre of the high-minded and the chivalrous race of men in the South? I trust there is not one. For my own part I would, without hesitation, bundle on my knapsack, and march in company with my friend from Massachusetts (Mr. Everett) in defense of their cause.

"I am willing to consider slavery as a question entirely domestic, and leave it to those States in which it exists. The Constitution of the United States will be my rule of conduct upon this subject. I have good reason to believe that the honest, but mistaken, attempts of philanthropists have done much injury to the slaves themselves. These attempts generally reach the ears of the slave, and whilst they inspire him with false hopes of liberty, and thus make him disobedient, and discontented with his condition, they compel the master to use more severity that would otherwise have been necessary."

If the course of Congressional debate, of popular discussion on the hustings and movements of political parties, be fairly traced from that time down to the outbreak of the war, it will be found that Mr. Buchanan's attitude toward slavery was no more friendly than that of the great masses of the people of the United States, and of practically all its leading parties. In pronouncing it "a great political and great moral evil," he went about as far as was then demanded by its fiercest opponent, and in conceding that the Constitution regarded it as an entirely domestic question, to be settled and regulated by the States in which it then existed, he took a position which no constitutional lawyer could deny, and in exact accord with what Mr. Lincoln distinctly and frequently declared not only before but after his election.

Of course, the two great phases of the subject which subsequently arose to convulse the country, viz., the extension of the system into the Territories and new States, and the obligations of the citizens of free Commonwealths to treat fugitive bondsmen as chattels, were not then before the country for consideration; but it was a corollary from the legal status of slavery that, if it existed by right, the slave was property, and could properly be reclaimed like an ox; and that if an existing State could settle this purely domestic question upon its own authority, the people of a newly-organizing Commonwealth should be allowed to do the same. I speak, of course, from the viewpoint of the lawyer, and not of a humanitarian; and I am tracing the history of Mr. Buchanan's attitude and not justifying it. He was ahead of, rather than behind, the average philanthropy of his time.

Strange as it may sound in these later days, of entirely too much freedom of speech and licentiousness of press, the almost universal sentiment North seventy years ago was against the circulation through and by the United States mails in the slave States of publications assailing the property rights of the owner in his slave and calculated to incite insurrection and destruction. In deprecating such irritations Buchanan at least reflected the almost universal sentiments of his constituents, his party and his section of the country.

On August 18, 1838, Mr. Buchanan addressed a great Democratic mass meeting in this city, on the subject of "Abolitionism," and in opposition to the re-election of Governor Ritner. He deplored the partisan agitation of the question largely on the grounds that he believed it would postpone

and likely defeat its avowed object. He said:

"The Southern people, before abolition commenced, reposing on their constitutional rights, had much, very much, ameliorated the condition of their slaves. Education, and particularly religious education, was becoming common amongst them. In several of the States, the question of gradual emancipation had come to be freely discussed. The question had been seriously debated in Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky and Missouri; and the doctrine had found numerous and talented advocates amongst the most distinguished men of these States. In Virginia the voice of the friends of gradual emancipation had been raised with power in her legislative halls, and had been almost successful. Another effort, and this ancient and powerful Commonwealth might have followed the example of Pennsylvania and have become a free State."

He recurred to this view of the subject in an extended letter from Wheatland, November 19, 1850, addressed to a public meeting in Philadelphia. Like Mr. Webster and Mr. Lincoln, he was chiefly solicitous about the preservation of the Union, and he deprecated abolitionism mainly because that threatened it. He prophetically exclaimed: "Heaven forbid that the question of slavery should ever prove to be the stone thrown into the midst of our countrymen to make them turn their arms against one another and perish in mutual conflict!" His denunciation of pernicious agitation was far more measured and moderate than the utterances from the Bench of many Judges in Federal and State Courts throughout the North.

He may have been entirely mistaken in his diagnosis and in his remedy, but he was surely sincere in

his desire to relieve the malady. No less violent a Whig than Henry Clay shared his apprehensions; and Buchanan's apostrophe to the Union was an eloquent echo to Webster's two decades earlier. Mr. Buchanan closed his letter in these words: "But if, in the midst of such a temporary excitement, the Union should be dissolved, the mischief will then be irreparable. 'Nations unborn, and ages yet behind,' will curse the rashness of the deed. Should 'the silver cord be loosed, and the golden bowl be broken at the fountain,' human power will never be able to re-unite the scattered fragments. If the Almighty Ruler of the Universe has, in his Providence, destined the dissolution of the Union, as a punishment for the sins of the Nation, I hope, before that day, I may be gathered to my fathers, and never witness the sad catastrophe."

No man who ever tolerated the idea of disunion cherished those sentiments or wrote these words: "May this Union endure forever, the source of innumerable blessings to those who live under its beneficent sway, and the star of hope to millions of down-trodden men throughout the world."

As Secretary of State under Polk, he was unsparing in his efforts to break up what he called the "odious traffic" of the African slave trade; and he brooked no delay in bringing offending parties to justice.

When he favored the annexation of Texas he expressed his hopeful belief that this new outlet for slave labor would convert Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri, and probably others, into free States. The time foretold by Mr. Randolph was near at hand in those States when "if the slave did not run away from his master, the master must run away from his slave." If five Common-

wealths were created out of the new star of the empire three of them would be north of the compromise line and would be free. Anticipating the admission of California, Secretary of State Buchanan foresaw it was bound to be a free State.

The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 was not, as it is often assumed, a new aggression of the slave power. Since 1793 there had been a Federal statute not only affirming the right of the master to follow and reclaim his fleeing bondsmen wherever found, but requiring the State Courts and legal authorities to enforce this right. In construing that Act in 1842, in *Prigg vs. Pennsylvania*, 16 Peters, 539, the Supreme Court of the United States—a Massachusetts Whig, Mr. Justice Story, delivering the opinion—explicitly affirmed this constitutional right of the master and clothed him with authority in every State of the Union to seize and recapture his slave wherever he could do it without a breach of the peace or any illegal violence. But the decision went further and held that State magistrates could not be required by Federal law to perform any duties involving the recapture and return of the escaped or escaping human chattel. This decision—which is quite as monumental in the history of slavery as the more famous *Dred Scot* case—practically enabled every State and community hostile to slavery to nullify the right of the slave owner to his property. Henceforth the promise that he should be secure in his inalienable ownership of his own was to be “kept to the ear, but broken to the hope.” Then began the long struggle between the humanitarian and the lawyer—and in that appeal, first to “the higher law” and then to the arbitrament of the sword, lies the whole issue which, in

one form or another, has been the basis of political differences, social agitation, governmental convulsion and civil war, ever since society was organized into commonwealths.

To say there is only one side to it, or that men of conscience may not, varying with their respective viewpoint, fairly espouse one or the other cause, is to say that normal vision must be near-sighted, cross-eyed or one-eyed. The greatest Teacher the world has yet seen declared that to Caesar must be rendered what is Caesars, but He expressly reserved to the decision of the individual conscience the determination of the more serious problem of what is Caesar's.

We have seen that by training and temperament Mr. Buchanan as a lawyer was committed to the legal side of the proposition; and if as a statesman he erred in so choosing, it must be admitted that in the day he lived and in the light in which he stood there were few who had the foresight to elect differently. They were at best sectionalists, and were neither representative men nor were they supported by popular sentiment. Least of all were the men who were later acclaimed the saviours of the Union—the Lincolns and Stantons, the Grants and Shermans, the Sheridans and Meades, the Thomases and Reynolds, the Butlers and Logans—at variance with Mr. Buchanan on this question.

Apart from the consideration that no moral question can be permanently compromised, and that no nation could endure forever "half slave and half free," it must be conceded that the Clay compromise of 1850 was a fair one. The fact that the great Senatorial triumvirate—Webster, of Massachusetts; Calhoun, of South Carolina, and Clay from the South-

west—all strenuously advocated it, attests that it was a reasonable settlement. Under it California came in free; the domestic slave trade in the District of Columbia was abolished; the authority of the Federal Government was sufficiently strengthened to enforce the Fugitive Slave law without impressing the States into service, and the question of slavery in New Mexico and Utah was remanded to the exercise of the right of local self-government. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that had agitation then ceased, and had all parties observed the “status in quo,” slavery would have become extinct gradually almost as soon as it was eventually abolished, and without the terrible tribute of blood, treasure and sacrifice which its abolition by war entailed on the country—not to count the unspeakable cost of sudden suffrage to the enfranchised race.

I cannot find any mention of or reference to the Christiana riot in any of Mr. Buchanan’s published writings, although he must have been at Wheatland during this period. It was between his retirement from Polk’s Cabinet and his appointment as Minister to England under Pierce; he was not then in official life; he was in waiting for the Presidential nomination; when it went to Pierce he promptly wrote the nominee that his own defeat did not cost him a pang.

He was in England from June, 1853, to April, 1856, and in June of the latter year he was nominated for the Presidency. His utterances in the meantime were those of diplomacy and his public papers reveal little of his attitude toward slavery during those exciting days of fierce debate that followed the deaths of Clay, Webster and Calhoun, the decay of the Whig party and the assumptions of

Stephen A. Douglas to leadership of the Democracy, with his Nebraska report and its long train of disturbing issues.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" was early recognized by Macaulay as the most valuable addition that America has made to English literature; it awakened a popular interest in France, more intense than had been excited by Dumas' "Three Guardsmen" or Eugene Sue's "Mysteries of Paris." Naturally, therefore, Mr. Buchanan found it the subject of table talk in the British capital; and our Ambassador never shone more resplendent than in post-prandial discourse. When dining at the Duke of Newcastle's, our country's institutions were put upon the defensive. Mr. Buchanan was quick to remind the Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench that Lord Holt, as Chief Justice of England, had decided that negro slaves were merchandise; he secured assurances that England was not encouraging a republic of freed blacks in Cuba; he came back from England feeling that his public life was closing. His ambition to be President had ceased.

Be it noted that the man who was most responsible for the virtual repeal of the Missouri Compromise and for disturbing the truce of 1850, into which Clay, Calhoun and Webster—West, South and North—had all entered, and who asserted the power of Federal Government to enforce the right of the people of every new State to establish slavery within its borders, if they so elected, was Stephen A. Douglas. It was he who later destroyed the Buchanan-Breckenridge Democracy. It was he who held Mr. Lincoln's hat at the inauguration of the first Republican President, and upheld his hands. It was he who, while he doomed the Whig party,

organized the movement which kept the Democracy of Buchanan out of power for twenty-four years—a period pregnant with historical importance. Mr. Curtis surely does not overstate the case when he says that Mr. Buchanan did not approve Douglas' doctrine of "popular sovereignty," and that, had he been home in 1854, "it would have encountered his serious opposition."

It is true that Mr. Buchanan accepted the nomination of President from a united Democratic party, upon a platform which declared for the right of each State to control its own domestic institutions, and which deprecated all further agitation of the slavery question—thereby including an affirmance of the existing Fugitive Slave law. But when he did so, his views and those of his party were firmly crystallized into "the law of the land." The Republican convention of 1856, which rejected Abraham Lincoln as a Vice Presidential nominee, made no declaration against slavery. It contented itself by denying the right of Congress to either establish or disestablish slavery in the Territories, and asserted the right and duty to prevent it—and also the "twin relic," polygamy. The issue between the parties then was not a moral, but a legal one, viz., whether the Federal or the local power was to be supreme in determining the domestic institutions of a new commonwealth, organized out of territorial elements.

When the Kansas question came on for determination, and it was evident the majority of the settlers in that new State were anti-slavery, the Whig-Republicans remorselessly abandoned their Federal doctrine and asserted themselves in favor of the Democratic theory of local self-government. The

impartial student of the history of this period will see—as he may see again and again in our kaleidoscopic politics—that parties can thus suddenly shift their position and carry with them the great body of their members.

The storm center of Buchanan's Administration, so far as the slavery question was involved, was the conflict in Kansas. In that contest the Free Soilers, the Henry Ward Beecher and John Brown Abolitionists, leaned on the Democratic doctrine of home rule and popular sovereignty, and, had the Democratic party been true to its own faith, and accepted the results of its own teachings, it would have recognized at the outset what it finally realized and grudgingly accepted at the outcome, viz., that the spontaneous settlement of Kansas was anti-slavery, and it must come into the Union as a free Commonwealth.

The Buchanan Administration was mostly discredited by the turbulent proceedings over the declaration and determination of what was the actual verdict of the people of Kansas on the question of slavery under its State Government. The attempt of what was stigmatized as the "border ruffian" element to falsify that verdict reacted terribly against the political fortunes of the Democratic party. The outrages committed on both sides during that fierce and bloody contest were reprehensible; and it may be conceded that the slavery forces were by far the more aggressive, insolent and unscrupulous. It was a party blunder, amounting to a political crime on the part of the Buchanan Administration, not to recognize this, or, if it recognized it, not to admit it; albeit Kansas was finally admitted as a free State, President Buchanan signing the bill.

None the less, no party to the Kansas struggle was free from blame. The latest and most comprehensive biographer of John Brown, of Pottawatomie—Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of Wm. Lloyd Garrison—makes it perfectly clear that Brown was a cold-blooded murderer, a remorseless thief, and a cruel guerilla; and all apologists of his conduct, whether in Kansas or at Harper's Ferry, belong to that class of casuists who make the end justify the means—who would cut a white man's throat to set a black man free; or would rob the rich to "scatter plenty" to the smiling poor. Outlaws have no place in organized society.

The whole Kansas affair was a shining illustration of the impossibility of solving a question which involves a great moral issue by running an imaginary geographical line of compromise through the disputation. It ought to be a lesson to those who nowadays would settle the liquor question by local option politics!

The other notable incident of the Buchanan Administration which was most vividly related to the slavery question was the notorious "Dred Scot decision" of the Supreme Court. It was handed down two days after Mr. Buchanan's inauguration. No Judge participating in it was of his appointment; there is no proof whatever of the frequent innuendo that he knew of its contents in advance, or that their foreshadowings in his message were authoritative. The case had been argued and reargued; its significance was well understood in political circles; its decision was eagerly awaited; and many other sagacious statesmen believed with Mr. Buchanan that a final deliverance of the Supreme Court on the questions involved would be accepted by the

country-at-large as a settlement of them.

Their miscalculation was, at least, no greater than that of Mr. Lincoln and his advisers, who, four years later, cherished the delusion that war could be averted; and who, even six years later, practically offered the States in rebellion a continuance of slavery if they would return to the Union.

When Mr. Lincoln wrote to Horace Greeley that he would gladly spare slavery if thereby he could save the Union, he evinced the same spirit that Mr. Buchanan had repeatedly expressed when he deprecated abolitionism mainly because it threatened the integrity of the nation. Personally he had no more love for the institution when he quit public life, in 1861, than when in Lancaster, in 1819, he had declared against its extension. Individually he frequently purchased the freedom of slaves in Washington, brought them with him to Pennsylvania, leaving it to them to repay him, if they could, out of their wages.

There is a homely saying that hindsight is easier than foresight.

Few statesmen and fewer politicians are like Wordsworth's "Happy Warrior," who

"Through the heat of conflict keeps
the law
In calmness made and sees what he
foresaw."

It is a widespread popular delusion that Abraham Lincoln was the nominee of an anti-slavery party and was chosen a candidate and elected in 1860 on a platform pledging, if not abolitionism, at least some modification of slavery in the Southern States. Nothing could be further from the truth. Neither he nor the platform of his party assailed the morality of

slavery itself or the legality of the institution in the States where it existed. His nomination was the defeat of the radical wing of his party; it was a condemnation of Seward's doctrine of the higher law. In the opening speech of his famous Senatorial campaign Mr. Lincoln had intimated his entire willingness to let slavery where and as it was—the public mind having satisfaction and relief in the belief of its future gradual extinction. The Republican platform on which he was first elected President expressly declared for the maintenance “inviolate” of the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions—including slavery, of course—according to its own judgment exclusively. It is oftentimes forgotten that even the so-called Emancipation Proclamation, issued after nearly eighteen months of war, offered freedom only to the bondsmen of States and slaveholders in rebellion; it even enforced the odious Fugitive Slave Law against those who escaped from loyal owners, and recommended compensation for that class who lost their human chattels.

It will be remembered that the early popular and political responses to this mild measure of emancipation were so disappointing that Mr. Lincoln “doubted whether, indeed, God was on his side.” Benjamin R. Curtis, the great jurist, who had so powerfully dissented from Taney's decision in the first Scot case, published a pamphlet to show that Mr. Lincoln had no constitutional right to issue his edict of qualified freedom.

I recall these indisputable historic facts not to criticise some or defend others, but because it is only by keeping them in mind that one can rightly view men and events of fifty years ago

not only in their relations to the subject under discussion, but to all the tremendous questions whose settlement convulsed the land with civil war and happily brought our countrymen to the self-consciousness of a united nation.

Minutes of the May Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., May 5, 1911.

There was another large attendance at the monthly meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society held Friday evening in the Smith free library building. Interest in the work of the local historians is growing steadily and the present year promises to be the most successful from every standpoint in the career of the organization.

A. K. Hostetter acted as secretary pro tem.

One new member was elected, Mrs. T. B. Cochran, and the name of H. M. Stauffer, of Leola, was proposed.

Librarian Steigerwalt announced the following donations:

Annual report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1909.

Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 40, Part 1, being Handbook of American Indian Languages.

Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for March 1911.

The Pennsylvania Magazine of History for January, 1911,

The Pennsylvania-German, April, 1911.

Tioga County Historical Society Proceedings, Volume II., parts 2 and 3.

Library bulletins and other pamphlets.

In memoriam Charles Lytle Lamber-ton, from Hamilton Library, Carlisle. Pa.

It was announced that former Governor Stuart had presented to the society an autograph letter of Jasper Yeates addressed to his father in 1765.

The letter throws very interesting sidelights on the parental and filial relation of that day. Mr. George H. Pell, of New York, presented a valuable manuscript in the form of an autograph letter dated at Pittsburg, October 19, 1835, and addressed to William Hiester, of New Holland, who was the father of the late Hon. Isaac Hiester, of this city, one time Congressman and distinguished lawyer. Mr. Pell also presented from Mr. Hiester's papers three curious old German documents.

Two papers were read before the society during the evening. Mrs. M. N. Robinson had as her subject, "Side Lights on Slavery." The other paper was read by W. U. Hensel, who spoke on "The Attitude of James Buchanan Towards the Institution of Slavery in the United States."

A vote of thanks was extended to the authors of both papers.

-On motion a committee composed of H. Frank Eshleman, D. F. Magee and Miss Martha B. Clark was appointed to arrange for the annual outing.

On motion adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JUNE 2, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THADDEUS STEVENS AND SLAVERY.

MINUTES OF JUNE MEETING.

VOL. XV. NO. 6.

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LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

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BY BENJ. C. ATLEE, ESQ.

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Thaddeus Stevens and Slavery

Slavery, an institution strongly entrenched. Thaddeus Stevens, a strong man. A combat to the death occurred when that man battled against that institution.

To the vast store of literature on the Civil War, its causes and its effects, I shall try to add nothing. The fame of Stevens is larger to-day than when he died. I can add no laurels to the mound of wreaths already distinguishing his memory.

No prejudices, for or against slavery, color my vision. No blind worship distorts my view of him who, no matter how we may view him, has achieved a place in history so secure that his fame can not be diminished.

What was slavery? Who was Thaddeus Stevens? And what did he do in the overthrow of slavery?

What was slavery? A calm view of just what was that institution is necessary here.

Although the Chief Justice (Mansfield) of England, in 1772, had decided in the habeas corpus case of James Somerset that slavery was contrary to the laws of England and could not exist there, the Colonial Assemblies, in the face of this decision, continued to enact laws in favor of slavery. The laws regulating the affairs of the Colonies were controlled by provision of charter, or by royal commission, and were required to be "not repugnant to those of England."

Most of the Colonies had, early in their history, recognized slavery as legal. Virginia in 1620, Massachusetts in 1641, Connecticut and Rhode Island

1650, New York 1656, Maryland 1663. New Jersey 1665.

The King of England, in the eighteenth century, "stood in the path of humanity and made himself the pillar of the colonial slave trade."

As time went on there was a great change in the attitude of the colonists toward slavery. In 1772 the Virginia Assembly earnestly discussed the question, "How shall we get rid of the great evil?" Jefferson, Henry, Lee and other leading men anxiously desired to rid the Colony of "the great evil." The conduct of the English King caused Jefferson in his first draft of the Declaration of Independence to write as follows: "He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, capturing and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur a miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel Powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep an open market where men should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce." This paragraph was stricken out of the Declaration of Independence before the committee submitted it to a vote of the Congress. A Georgia Convention protested against slavery in 1775, and in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 a strong desire to wipe out slavery was shown, but, by a compromise, provision was made for the abolition of the slave trade. The time fixed by the Constitution was January 1, 1808.

So long as slavery was confined to the holding in bondage of the house servant and the ordinary field hand it

did not present the repulsive features which later characterized it. Wrong in principle it might be, but it was not so terrible in practice.

The seeds of the cotton raised in the United States adhered so firmly to the fiber that it was difficult to separate them from it. By the slow process of picking by human fingers, the seeds were separated from the cotton wool. This work was chiefly done by negro women and children, and the separation of one pound of the wool from the seeds was regarded as a good day's work for one woman. So limited was the production, on account of the labor, that even high prices did not stimulate its cultivation, and the entire cotton crop of the United States in 1791 was only about two million pounds. (The crop in 1861 was about 1,736,600,000 pounds; crop in 1910 was 6,336,000,000 pounds). In 1792 Eli Whitney, a young schoolmaster of Massachusetts, went to Georgia to teach the children of a planter. There Whitney invented the cotton gin, which could do in a day the work of a thousand women.

Instantly the view of slavery changed. That institution was almost dying out when the cotton gin promised wealth to the cotton planter. The increased production of cotton made an enormous demand for slave labor in the preparation of the soil, the gathering of the harvest, and the preparation of the crop for market. Its effects upon the industrial pursuits of nearly one-half of the nation were marvelous. No less were its effects upon the moral and intellectual condition of the people in the cotton-growing States.

Before 1808 enormous numbers of slaves were brought into the country. The institution of slavery, instead of passing away, grew strong and powerful, and cotton, its representative, assumed to be king of the nation.

Thus the economic question supplanted the moral one, as it invariably does. Slave-holding grew very profitable and slave-dealing remunerative, and many a New Englander owned a share in a slave ship.

The attempts to escape of slaves, so long as the fugitive was captured in slave-holding territory, went practically unnoticed. But when a slave had got so far in his flight as to reach a State opposed to slavery his retaking became a matter that stirred the nation.

No matter how blindly indifferent to the evils of slavery in the South the people of the North might seem, their feelings became aroused when slave-hunters came among them. Familiarity with the sight of arrests for crime did not prepare the mind to coolly look on at the capture and return to bondage of a fugitive slave, often lighter in color than his captors.

The political power of the South overawed and overwhelmed the North. The question became one of mixed principle and dollars. A peculiar question. One quite unlike any question that has arisen in the history of any other country.

Now for the man.

Born in Vermont, in 1792, Stevens grew to young manhood amid surroundings adapted to implant and powerfully strengthen in him the hatred of privilege and the idea of democratic equality, which so strongly characterized him in after years.

The influence of a remarkable mother encouraged him in the development of a mind no less vigorous because his body was weak in youth.

The fact that the boy was too much of a weakling to look forward to a life of physical labor, and, therefore, had to rely almost wholly upon his wits for his future, may have been one reason why he reached fame.

A man who passed, as Stevens did, through the Peacham Academy, and who attended Dartmouth College and the University of Vermont, was not an illiterate backwoodsman. He was a well educated man.

He was blessed in his preparation for life. He had a noble mother. He knew the discipline of poverty. He had seen life lived upon a plane of service. Amid surroundings most democratic he had been shown a view of the aristocracy of educated intellect.

When he moved from Vermont to Pennsylvania, coming to York, where he could teach in the Academy, thus supporting himself, and could at the same time read law, he not only gained a broader field for the practice of his profession. That was the least consequence of his moving. What he did was this—he changed from a location near the Northern frontier to one then very near the center of our civilization, and one almost upon that line which, beginning at the Atlantic and stretching to our Western frontier, with a dip southward, formed the line of battle along which was to be fought the great contest for freedom.

The county of York, and the county of Adams, to which he early removed, were bounded upon the south by the slave territory of the State of Maryland.

Keen of mind, eloquent, learned, shrewd and forceful, he grew to manhood and to leadership at the forensic Bar. The culture and democracy of Vermont came to flower through the engrafted stem of anti-slavery feeling.

At the Bar he was ever ready to defend the rights of the fugitive slave. On innumerable occasions he gave ample evidence of the strength of his anti-slavery convictions by the zeal he showed in the trial of slave cases.

Now let us see what happened when

the Man came to battle with the Institution.

The Thirty-first Congress assembled in December, 1849, and Stevens for the first time took his seat as a member of the House of Representatives. Almost fifty-eight years of age, he began his career in the House at a time of life when most men leave public service or have acquired from long service a position of leadership.

Stevens presented himself as a candidate for Speaker of the House, and the vote for him included all the Free-soil members and an equal number of Whigs. Be it remembered that Stevens was already known far and wide for his triumphs at the Bar and in the legislative halls of his home State. As a politician he had few equals and no superior. Although he failed of election, Stevens received a respectable support.

The attitude of the Free-soil Whigs was briefly this: They aimed to force their party to take a more aggressive stand against slavery, or, failing in that, to disrupt the party altogether, and to organize a new party on the ruins of the old.

Stevens was a Whig. His attitude on the slavery question was well known. He had been sent to Congress by a vote of almost two to one for his competitor. There could be no doubt about his instructions.

California had been opened up for settlement, and in an incredibly short time had sufficient population to form a State. Her people would not tolerate slavery.

The citizens of California promptly adopted a free constitution and asked admission as a free State. The most that Congress could do was to refuse admission. The Democratic doctrine of popular sovereignty would not admit of an attempt to establish slavery

there by national law, and, even if the attempt had been made, it would have been an enactment impossible of being enforced.

Slavery in the new Territory was not the only irritating form which the slave problem assumed. The people of the South believed that the Constitution was being violated, that is, as to the return of "persons held to service or labor." Unless an effective law for the return of runaway slaves was enacted and enforced the leaders of the South openly declared their intention to disrupt the Union. Clay in the Senate was for some compromise. Stevens in the House was leader of the extreme Whigs, and was determined not to yield anything. Stevens did not wait for the proposed compromise to reach the House, but on February 20, 1850, made a speech in which he violently attacked the proposition for the return of fugitive slaves, and broadly discussed the slavery question. It was his first set speech in Congress upon the subject, and he was entirely frank in speaking his mind.

"We can say anything," he said, "within these walls or beyond them with impunity unless it be to agitate in favor of human liberty—that is aggression." While unchangeably hostile to slavery in every form and in every place, he declared he felt bound by the constitutional provisions. He disliked some of those compromises, and if they were still open he would never consent to them, but he was precluded from objecting. It was a matter of regret that Congress had no power over slavery in the States, and, if it had, he would, regardless of all threats, support "some safe, just and certain means for its extinction."

He then discussed the wisdom of slavery. He first considered it, to use

his own words, "in the low light of political economy." That nation is the most prosperous which has the most industrious and largest producing classes. "Those who merely consume the fruits of the earth add nothing to the strength or the wealth of a nation." Slave countries cannot have a large number of industrious free men. "When the lash is the only stimulant the spirit of man revolts from labor." Never can such countries have a body of small proprietors of the soil. The poor white laborers are the scorn of the slave himself, and are ranked with him. The soil occupied by slavery, he declared, is much less productive than a similar soil occupied by free men, because negligence and improvidence follow in its train. He illustrated his argument by a reference to Virginia. "She had a delightful climate, a soil naturally fertile. She is intersected, as was well said by the gentleman from Virginia, by the noblest rivers. Her hills and mountains are filled with rich minerals and covered with valuable timber. She has the finest water, I believe, in the nation, in the very heart of her State; and her harbors are among the best in the world. At the time of the adoption of the Constitution she was the most powerful State—her population was double that of New York. It was the boast of her statesmen, that she was 'prima inter pares.' What is she now? The population of New York is more than double, I think the next census will show nearly treble, hers. Her land, cultivated by unwilling hands, is unproductive. Travel through the adjoining States of Ohio and Pennsylvania, and you will see that the land produces more than double as much as the same kind of land in Virginia. In the free States new towns are everywhere springing up and thriving; the land is

becoming more productive; smiling habitations are within hail of each other; the whole country is dotted with schoolhouses and churches almost within sight of each other; and, except under peculiar circumstances, their manufactures and mechanic arts are furnishing lucrative employment to all their people; and their population is steadily and rapidly increasing. Turn again to Virginia. There is scarcely a new town, except at one or two points, within her whole borders. Her ancient villages wear the appearance of mournful decay. Her minerals and timber are unwrought. Her noble water-power is but partially occupied. Her fine harbors are without ships, except from other ports; and her seaport towns are without commerce and falling into decay. Ask yourself the cause, sir, and I will abide the answer."

He thought it was vital to confine slavery to the States in which it then existed, because that course would bring the States themselves to its gradual abolition. Permit the disease to spread and "it will render the whole body leprous and loathsome." He again emphasized his cure for slavery, which long dwelt in the memory of Southern statesmen. "Surround it by a cordon of freemen, so that it cannot spread, and in less than twenty-five years every slave-holding State in this Union will have on its statute books a law for the gradual and final extinction of slavery."

This speech, so far as Stevens was concerned, had a two-fold effect. It not only commanded the admiration of his friends, but it achieved the success of drawing upon him the fire of the opposition. It had strength and directness. It clearly expressed great ideas, which were not dressed up and concealed in any frippery of labored

rhetoric. His trenchant power of argument, his courage, the force of his compact eloquence not merely established his position in the House, but attracted the attention of the country.

When the California question came before the House, he seized the opportunity to state more fully his position with regard to slavery in the Territories as well as to make more emphatic, if possible, his hostility to slavery everywhere. On June 10, 1850, he delivered another philippic, even more forcible and uncompromising than his February speech. He declared that, in his opinion, so far as the constitutional power to admit new States was concerned, Congress had power to admit only such States as were formed out of territory previously belonging to the nation. He again expressed his unwillingness to violate any of the provisions of the Constitution, but displayed a good deal of legal ingenuity in the manner in which he construed some of these provisions. Aside from what he termed "the principle of eternal right," he would never give his consent to the admission of another slave State, unless bound to do so by some compact, "on account of the injustice of slave representation." He would not vote to give five slaves and their master the same voting power as four white men.

From the eulogies which had been pronounced upon slavery he would infer that the institution was a blessing, politically and morally. Comparison had been made between slaves and free working men much to the advantage of the slave. Instances had been cited "where the slave, after having tried his freedom, had voluntarily returned to resume his yoke." If this were true, he could not see any reason for being apprehensive as to the future of slavery. Slave-holders would

never lack bondmen. "Their slaves would remain, and many free men would seek admission into this happy condition." The North would not complain if they would establish in the South "abolition societies to abolish freedom."

He then referred to some of the glowing pictures that had been painted of slavery. "If these Southern gentlemen and their Northern sycophants are sincere and correct, then I must admit that they have just cause of complaint—the only real aggression which the North ever inflicted on them. For it cannot be denied that for two centuries the North has mainly contributed to secure to a particular race the whole advantages of this blissful condition of slavery; and, at the same time, has imposed upon the white race the cares, the troubles, the lean anxieties of freedom. This is a monopoly inconsistent with republican principles, and should be corrected. If it will save the Union, let these gentlemen introduce a 'compromise' by which these races may change conditions; by which the oppressed master may slide into that happy state where he can stretch his limbs on the sunny ground without fear of disarranging his toilet; when he will have no care for to-morrow; another will be bound to find him meat and drink, food and raiment, and provide for the infirmities and helplessness of old age. Impose, if you please, upon the other race, as a compensation for their former blessings, all those cares, and duties and anxieties.....Homer informs us that the moment a man becomes a slave, he loses half the man; and a few short years of apprenticeship will expunge all the rest, except the faint glimmerings of an immortal soul.

"Take your stand, therefore, cour-

ageously in the swamp, spade and mattock in hand, and, uncovered and half-naked, toil beneath the broiling sun. Go home to your hut at night, and sleep on the bare ground, and go forth in the morning unwashed to your daily labor, and a few short years, or a generation or two at the most, will give you a color that will pass muster in the most fastidious and pious slave market in Christendom." There were degrees of slavery, and, having quoted Homer to illustrate its evils, he now cited a later poet. "Dante, by actual observation, makes hell consist of nine circles, the punishment of each increasing in intensity over the preceding. Those doomed to the first circle are much less afflicted than those in the ninth, where are tortured Lucifer and Judas Iscariot—and I trust in the next edition will be added the traitors to liberty. But, notwithstanding this difference in degree, all, from the first circle to the ninth, inclusive, is hell—cruel, desolate, abhorred, horrible hell."

He then referred to the fugitive slave law. The owner of the slave had as effective remedies to recover his property as had the owner of a horse. After citing the provisions of the law, he said: "Is not this sufficient? It is all the right which he would have if he claims property in a horse or other property, which he might allege had strayed over the line. Why should he have any greater right when he claims property in men? Is a man of so much less value than a horse, that he should be deprived of the ordinary protection of the law?"

He then drew a picture of the punishments inflicted upon some citizens of his own State who had harbored fugitive slaves.

He commented with a good deal of asperity upon the course of Webster

and Clay. The sons of the South were faithful, even though its cause was that of human bondage. "But the North, the poor, timid, mercenary, driveling North, has no such united defenders of her cause, although it is the cause of human liberty. Even her own great men have turned her accusers."

He declared his unyielding opposition to the fugitive slave law. "The distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Clay) wishes further to make it the duty of all bystanders to aid in the capture of fugitives; to join in the chase and run down the prey. This is asking more than my constituents will ever grant. They will strictly abide by the Constitution. The slave-holder may pursue his slave among them with his own foreign myrmidons, unmolested, except by their frowning scorn. But no law that tyranny can pass will ever induce them to join the hue and cry after the trembling wretch who has escaped from unjust bondage. Their fair land, made by nature and their own honest toil as fertile and as lovely as the Vale of Tempe, shall never become the hunting-ground on which the bloodhounds of slavery shall course their prey and command them to join the hunt."

McCall says: "The speeches of Stevens upon slavery in the Thirty-first Congress were more rhetorical than those in his later style, and the faculty of wit which he could so successfully employ to provoke laughter and to promote a kindly feeling displayed itself in these speeches in a biting, destructive sarcasm which grew out of his ineradicable hatred of slavery. They will, on the whole, bear comparison with any that were made during the entire history of the agitation." "It should be noted, also, that he did not speak one way and vote another"

....."Stevens voted to the last against the fugitive slave law and against the establishment of the Territories without a prohibition against slavery."

During the latter part of 1851 he appeared as counsel, with others, for the defense of the treason case against Castner Hanway. This case was heard in the United States Court in Philadelphia, and was the first important case, in Pennsylvania, at least, arising under the fugitive slave law of 1850, which Stevens had so vigorously opposed in Congress. "It is rare that any criminal proceeding has ever so thoroughly aroused the country."

This case grew out of the Christiana riot, and the trial ended, after fifteen days' contest, in a verdict of acquittal, based upon the instruction of the Court that the transaction did not rise to "the dignity of treason or the levying of war."

Nearly sixty-eight years of age, in December, 1859, Stevens again appeared in Congress.

The storm cloud of Secession was gathering and already casting its ominous shadow over all the land. The first session of the Thirty-sixth Congress was followed by the momentous Presidential campaign of 1860. The great issue was "Shall slavery be extended or shall it be restrained within the limits it now occupies?"

When the second session of the Thirty-sixth Congress opened the storm was breaking. The secession convention in South Carolina had been called, and her national Senators had resigned their seats. At this time Stevens made a great speech, in which he said there would be, in case secession became effective, "one empire wholly slave-holding and one republic wholly free." While we should faithfully execute the present compact, "yet

if it should be torn to pieces by rebels. our next United States will contain no foot of ground on which a slave can tread, no breath of air which a slave can breathe. Our neighboring slave empire must consider how it will affect their peculiar institutions. They will be surrounded with freedom, with the whole civilized world scowling upon them."

Mr. Dawes, who was a member of Congress at the time, has preserved a striking picture of the effect of this speech. "No one," says Mr. Dawes, "could forget the scene in which it occurred, though all I can say of it and of him seems tame enough without the inspiration of the occasion and of his presence. This speech was delivered in that last session in Mr. Buchanan's Administration, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, when the House was more like a powder magazine than a deliberative assembly. His denunciation of the plotters of treason to their face was terrible, and his expose of the barbarism of the so-called civilization behind them was awful.....Nearly fifty Southern members rose to their feet and rushed towards him with curses and threats of personal violence. As many of his friends gathered around him, and, moving him in a sort of hollow square to the space in front of the speaker, opened before his assailants, and stood guard over him while he arraigned the slaveocracy in an indictment for its crimes against humanity, surpassing in severity even the great arraignment by Mr. Sumner. He was then an old man, approaching seventy, on whose frame and voice time had already made sad inroads, but still standing erect and firm as a man of thirty-five. Calm and self-possessed as a Judge, he lashed them into a fury, and then bade them compose themselves at

their leisure. The excitement aroused by his fiery denunciation and defiant scorn beggars all description, and can only live in the memory of those who witnessed it."

There is a great temptation to here digress and to detail some of the splendid war-time achievements of him, who, as chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, throughout the stress and strain of that terrible conflict, so conducted himself that he has been acclaimed one of the great parliamentary leaders of all history.

The ease, facility and profound skill with which Mr. Stevens solved the innumerable and vexatious problems confronting our Government must excite the wonder and admiration of every student who examines his record.

But the purpose of this paper is limited to "Stevens and Slavery." At one time he refused to say that the war was made for the purpose of freeing the slave. "Ask them who made the war what is its object," he said.

Again he said that, should a brave policy be adopted, we would get the benefit of the anti-slavery feeling in England, which, "among the masses is more intense than the greed for cotton." We ought to announce our purpose to abolish slavery which "the whole civilized world now abhors." Our course had repelled sympathy, because the war had "virtually been made to rivet still stronger the chains of human bondage."

From the beginning of his war-time service Stevens had been ready and willing to accept any policy which would lead to emancipation. In supporting the mild confiscation bill at the July session of 1861, he expressed his opinion that the slaves should be armed if the war continued. On the day of the opening of the very next

session he introduced a resolution declaring that slavery caused the rebellion, that there could be "no solid and permanent peace and union" in the Republic so long as slavery existed within it; that slaves were "used by the rebels as essential means of supporting and prolonging the war," and that by the law of nations it was "right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to weaken his power."

His resolution also provided "that the President be requested to declare free, and to direct all our Generals and officers in command to order freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters, or who shall aid in quelling the rebellion."

This resolution contained a clause for the compensation of loyal citizens for losses arising from the operation of the resolution.

He spoke in terms of warm commendation upon the course of General Hunter in arming a regiment of black men. Public opinion was not ready for this idea of emancipation, although in point of time not far behind Stevens.

On April 10, 1862, on motion of Stevens, the House proceeded to consider the bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and on the next day the bill passed by a party vote and soon became a law. On May 9 he warmly supported the Lovejoy bill prohibiting slavery in all Territories then existing, or to be thereafter acquired, and also in forts and other public places and ships on the high seas. This bill also passed.

Thus the tendency toward emancipation appeared general and inevitable, and nine months from the day on which Stevens made his speech in support of his resolutions for freedom Lincoln issued his proclamation of conditional emancipation. Undoubted-

ly Lincoln also was a little ahead of public opinion. After a winter and summer spent in futile attempts to secure compensated emancipation in the border States, after the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the passage of confiscation acts, the President had the wisdom to see that enough had been done to alienate those who were opposed to interference with slavery, but not enough to attract the radical and progressive element who believed that freedom would be a potent war measure, and who saw little to be desired in a Union which retained the ancient source of contention.

In the last session of the Thirty-seventh Congress Stevens continued his fight for the enlistment of negro soldiers. After waiting in vain for action by the military committee, he boldly presented his bill to the House, and secured an assignment for its consideration, without awaiting the report of any committee. This unusual course excited violent opposition, and an attempt was made to prevent a vote upon the measure by repeated roll calls upon motions to adjourn and other dilatory propositions. After an all-night session the House adjourned without action, but the struggle was resumed at its next session and continued for a week. Stevens concluded the debate in a brilliant speech. He did not expect to see the day when in a "Christian land merit shall not counterbalance the crime of color," but he proposed "to give them an equal chance to meet death upon the battlefield.....The only place where they can find equality is in the grave. There all God's children are equal." His efforts at last were crowned with success. The bill passed by a vote of 83 to 54, and the thousands of black soldiers who enlisted before the end of

the war refuted by their conduct the predictions that they would be guilty of inhumanity.

On March 28, 1864, Stevens proposed an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. The amendment thus proposed was very similar in phraseology to the one finally adopted. The Senate gave the necessary two-thirds vote, but the House did not. A motion was made to reconsider, and the subject was postponed until the next session. In the meantime, the Union Army was everywhere successful, and the rebellion was reduced to the point of collapse. Lincoln beat the Democratic candidate, McClellan, by more than ten to one of the electoral vote. Under these circumstances, the amendment was again called up, and, when the vote was taken, it was found that enough Democratic members had patriotically bowed to the inevitable to secure its passage by more than the two-thirds vote. The ratification by the States of this amendment came in due time. Slavery in the United States had become a thing of the past.

"Whether slavery could, within any reasonable period, be blotted out, except by war, is a question which is even now debated; but there can be little doubt that, after war had been entered upon, the rational and conservative course was taken, and instead of sacrificing the Union by a premature attempt at freedom, or delaying freedom until the Union was lost, the time and methods were chosen which made freedom more certain, and made it also an instrumentality for preserving the union. It was fortunate that men like Stevens foresaw the ultimate result and prepared the minds of men to receive it. It was fortunate that Lincoln apparently drifted with public opinion and waited until the

moment was ripe. The immortal event was finally consummated, not by one side or extreme of humanity, but as a result of the combined wisdom of all." (McCall.)

Unalterably opposed to slavery, Stevens was still too great a lawyer not to recognize the binding force of the constitutional provisions blocking the accomplishment of his desire. When war time came his opportunity came, and he saw his life dream come true.

When his strength ebbed away he could console himself for death by realizing that the Union was saved, not half free and half slave, not by any compromise of restricted slavery, but saved entire and free.

A great crisis in the history of his country uncovered his talent. If a like storm comes, may a like man come with it.

Minutes of the June Meeting

Lancaster, June 2, 1911.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met in regular monthly session this evening. In the absence of the President, Mr. Steinman, Mr. Diffenderffer, one of the Vice Presidents, filled the chair. Miss Clark acted as Recording Secretary.

The Librarian, Mr. Steigerwalt, reported the following donations and exchanges received since the last meeting:

Formal opening of the new fire-proof building of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, April 6-7, 1910; Two Hundredth Anniversary Celebration of the Loucks Family Association at York, June 18, 1910, from Augustus Loucks, York, Pa.; American Catholic Historical Researches for July, 1911; Lebanon County Historical Society Proceedings, Vol. 5, No. 6; Pennsylvania-German, May, 1911; proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, January-April, 1911; Life of Gen. James Watts de Peyster, in two volumes, from Mr. Frank Allaben, President of the Frank Allaben Genealogical Co., of New York City; The Hudson-Fulton Celebration, 1909, in two volumes, from Mr. James M. Beck; also, from the same donor old books and pamphlets. Auseriesene Lebensbescheilungen, Heiliger Seelen, is the name of a stout quarto of 1,000 pages, printed in Essen, in 1784, containing biographies of many eminent characters, which was presented by Harry Hooper, of New Holland.

Special acknowledgment was ordered made of the donation by Mr. Frank Allaben of the Life of General de Peyster.

On motion, H. M. Stauffer, of Leola, was elected to membership.

The report of the Executive Committee stated that the sum of \$25 had been voted to Miss Lottie M. Bausman for her services in cataloguing the library, and \$10 to Miss Marian Skeelee for the same purpose. The report also contained the recommendation that a special meeting of the society be held on Friday, June 30, to hear the reading of the paper by D. F. Magee, and that the publications of the society be sent to the New York State Library to restore the pamphlets burned in the fire which destroyed the State Library.

The society accepted the report of the committee on the annual outing, accepting the invitation of Donegal Church to attend the reunion at that place June 21.

The committee arranging for the celebration reported that it has secured an old daguerreotype of Castner Hanway, Elijah Lewis and Joseph Scarlett, the three principals in the treason trials that followed the riot. It is the only copy in existence.

The paper of the evening was contributed by Benjamin C. Atlee, Esq., whose subject was "Thaddeus Stevens and Slavery." It was an unusually able paper, showing a most careful study of the subject, and it will prove a most valuable addition to the volume on the slavery issue which the society is compiling this year.

A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Atlee.

Adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

JUNE 30, 1911.

“History herself, as seen in her own workshop.”

THE CHRISTIANA RIOT: ITS CAUSES AND
EFFECTS, FROM A SOUTHERN STANDPOINT.

MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING.

SPECIAL SUPPLEMENTARY NUMBER.

VOL. XV.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY.

LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

The Christiana Riot - - - - - 193

BY D. F. MAGEE, ESQ.

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THE CHRISTIANA RIOT

Its Causes and Effects, from a Southern Standpoint

In order to write history well, it is necessary that we shall do something more than merely record accomplished facts and deeds of note; we must let the reader understand the conditions that then existed, the environment of the time and place, the beliefs and prejudices, the customs and habits of the people that may have had vital influence upon or been the very causes and formed the ends of these notable deeds and achievements.

Therefore, to properly value and appreciate the full meaning of the little tragedy that took place at Christiana on September 9, 1851, and to know why it became a great national event of such importance, surrounded by, and as it were set, in greater and more momentous things that filled the stage of our national existence, and one of those that soon after led to that terrible tragedy of the Civil War, of which the Christiana riot was but a shadowy prelude, we must present those side views and environments.

That a man or two was killed or a few slaves should have escaped and fled, or the actors therein have been tried and failed of conviction, gives little enlightenment to the inquiring mind that asks why such trifles drove a great people into rebellion and fratricidal war.

If we would study and know broadly and understandingly we must go far outside of this little whirlpool, and get a true knowledge of the preceding and surrounding facts and conditions in the land of slavery.

There was, of necessity, two sides to it. My hearers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, in the main, have heard but one, or, if they have heard the other, it has been darkly and through glasses of long-standing contrary beliefs,* so dark and thick that the full light could not enter.

I have, therefore, set for myself the task of putting before you the side of the slave holder, the Southern man, to this controversy; and I shall try to do it fairly and without prejudice. You, no doubt, may feel that I have overdrawn the picture in favor of the Southerner's position; I can assure you it will not be half so strongly put as were the real beliefs, feelings and doctrines that possessed the minds of those whose property and interests were most vitally affected by the underground railway, and its resultant corollary, the Christiana riot.

Therefore, let us go back to the earlier days of slavery first, and see why the institution did not seem to them the exceedingly reprehensible institution that many Northerners held it to be.

They could quote to you innumerable passages of Holy writ, in which slavery was apparently sanctioned and approved, and in no instance was it too strongly condemned therein, and never was it classed as a vice to shun nor held a virtue to abolish it. Nor had the terrible arraignment of it sometimes made by historians, poets and orators of the ancient Greeks and Romans so copiously quoted against the practice by Thaddeus Ste-

vens and other Abolitionists on the floor of the House any weight or force with them, for the very forcible reason that the slavery therein condemned was the slavery enforced upon an educated and accomplished people of races and nations usually equal to and often superior to that of their owners, into whose hands they had fallen as captives in the wage of battle, similar to the fate of the hero of a recent notable fiction, "Ben-Hur."

Such slaves, on account of previous cast and condition, and former life and habits, to whom slavery meant loathing humiliations and eventual death, could not for a moment be compared to the African slave rescued from the jungle and a life of barbarism, and transported into the midst of an enlightened, civilized and Christian land.

Nor yet could they be moved by the specious argument and long orations about the love of liberty in every man's breast, etc., etc., the liberty that was sought at Lexington and Bunker Hill, suffered for at Valley Forge, and finally accomplished at Yorktown; all such comparisons and effusions fell on deaf ears, and were only rated as so much bosh and silly buncombe; empty and meaningless; for full well they knew the negro slave did not, and could not, have a conception of such liberty, could not even grasp its meaning remotely, and it would be of no service to him if he possessed it. To be set free only meant to the black slave of the South freedom from obedience, from labor; and one grand, great holiday.

The colored man did not have then, nor has he learned by fifty years of freedom, the noble art of free government; nor has he to this period, with all the aid so freely given him, been

able to establish successfully a government of his own anywhere. Therefore, oratory and arguments of this kind were as so much chaff to the Southerner when applied to a race who had known no civilization and only reached its highest development in slavery. What were the actual facts and circumstances which brought the African black man to this country? What had he been in his own land? And what was his condition here in slavery; and what is it now? All of these are potent facts to be known and considered in any intelligent study of the slave owner's side of this question.

Whether or not he is an inferior race, the lowest of the five, we do not assert or discuss, but leave it to the fair judgment of all. But, certain it is, when snatched from his native land in the wilds of Africa he was a semi-barbarian, born and living in the crudest form of human existence, without any trace of training or civilization, no form of government deserving the name, a prey to stronger tribes and wild animals, and often famine and disease were his unhappy lot; any existence anywhere would seem to be a happy change from this condition, even viewed from a purely animal standard, to say nothing of a humanitarian or Christian viewpoint.

It may have been a crime to have carried him away in captivity and eventual slavery from this condition, but if it was, it was a crime that the Southern man had not been guilty of; and certainly the slave-holder in 1850 could not be held responsible for it morally, nor justly be made to suffer a loss financially therefore. The importation of slaves had ceased in all States long before the Christiana riot, and Virginia was one of the first to propose a law against their importa-

tion into the State; and when the riot took place but few of the original Africans were still living. If any such had been living, it is fair to presume not one of them would have been willing to return to freedom and his native land. But this traffic had been carried on mainly by foreigners under a foreign flag a half-century and more before, and, so far as any citizens of the United States were engaged in it, it is an admitted fact that it was done largely from the Northern ports of Boston, New York and Philadelphia.

Another matter to which due weight is seldom given is this: Why was it that slavery gained and held its firmest foothold in the Southern States? My brothers of the North can claim no superior virtue on the score, primarily, that but few slaves found homes north of the Mason and Dixon line; greater virtue and higher instincts on their part had nothing to do with it.

It was caused entirely by the laws of nature, modified to some extent by accident. As is well known, of the original thirteen States those of the South were settled and peopled almost exclusively by the English, a people of a temperate zone, and there was never a time afterwards when any other nationality in appreciable numbers entered this land as immigrants. At that early day, as at this, an Englishman could not stand or perform steady labor in the Southern clime; the heat and toil under a Southern sun made it impracticable, if not impossible, for the people who settled in any section south of the southern line of Virginia to perform hard manual labor, and even the cooler clime of that State was exceedingly trying on his constitution. Accident, as it were, early brought them the African slaves; who were, by birth and nature, especially adapted to that

clime; and who, at the same time, would suffer and eventually perish in the cold and snows of the north. The laws of nature inexorably ruled, that if African slave labor was to exist in this country it must be only in the South; for the white man could not labor in the South, and the black man, fresh from Africa, could not live in the North.

No other available labor was obtainable there, and none came to its ports. The Irishman and the peasantry of North Europe, especially the Saxon or German States, flocked into the North, and in the early days bore the heat and burthen of labor in city and country, and the North needed no other. The hard-working, energetic Irishman, and the patient, industrious German spurned the aid of a slave, because he and his lusty sons could do all the labor required in this temperate clime; under such conditions no slave was needed.

Next for an insight into the condition of life and servitude into which the vast majority of these eight million slaves existed.

I can candidly say that the true condition was never really understood, for it was systematically and grossly misrepresented by writers and speakers who made it their business to fight for the abolition of slavery. "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in its main parts may have been true, and most likely was where it pictured the happy home of Eliza and Tom with their first master; but the balance, if true, was a rare exception to the rule.

Yet the general public North accepted these stories as representative of the true conditions, and acted accordingly.

It is safe to say that nine-tenths of the slaves who sought freedom by the underground railway of Lancaster

county were from the States of Maryland and Virginia; and I speak from personal knowledge of conditions prevailing there. But first there are a few basic facts which will throw much light and help very materially in arriving at a true conclusion as to what the general facts were, which I would fain call to your attention. The slave was property, and represented just so many dollars to his owner, for hire for his services, or for his labor on the farm of the owner. He was an exceedingly risky property. There was risk of permanent disease and death; there was risk of his running away; there was the ever-present increasing age and risk of injury or incapacity.

All these were to be guarded against if the owner should consult at all his own interest, even though he may have been devoid of any humanitarian or Christian feeling in the matter. That man would be short-sighted, indeed, who would risk the loss or diminution of the value of that property by overwork, lack of proper food or clothing, physical abuse or wanton injury to his slave by himself. How much less would he allow another who had hired that slave from him for a time to inflict any such injury to his property. Whippings, starvings, overwork or other wanton abuse were most likely to cause the ever ready runaway and a total loss of the property. In the case of a grown-up man or woman it would seldom bring good results, but rather breed sullenness, stubbornness, hatred and final revenge. Then why, under any dictation of sense or reason, would it be resorted to? As a matter of fact, it seldom was, and only in extreme cases of insubordination was it of any use, and in all my recollection I never saw a man or woman over eighteen years of age

whipped, with one exception. The usual punishment inflicted by law for larceny was a flogging of so many lashes, and that was done by a public official, and that was the case I saw.

The younger negroes were often whipped by the mistress of the house, just as in those good old days the maxim prevailed, "spare the rod and spoil the child," and white and black got it alike. Again, the slave owner was a small minority compared with the slave employer, the slave being a risky and uncertain property, and men of smaller means, the regular farmer who perhaps needed but from two to five servants on his farm and house, did not generally invest any of his capital in slaves for their loss would mean his financial embarrassment. He hired him from his owner, who was most likely a large slave owner. It is difficult to fix a price for the sale of a full-grown man, but it ran all the way from \$300 to \$1,000, the latter, however, an extreme price, and the average being perhaps \$350 to \$400, and the price of a woman varied much more, according to their accomplishments as cooks, housekeepers or lady's maids; but many women also worked in the fields, which labor they usually preferred. The hired wage for a year was from 15 to 20 per cent. of the value, and the employer was bound to furnish a certain standard of wholesome food, two suits of clothing, one each for winter and summer, the latter very cheap, the former rough, but warm; one hat and two pair of shoes, and the employer had to take all risk of sickness or runaways during the term.

Therefore, in the first place, the owner, for the good of his slave, insisted on and demanded good treat-

ment, plenty to eat and good clothing; while the employer was bound by his contract to furnish this he also had a selfish motive in getting the best service from his slave by feeding him well, fair-dealing and good treatment, and care for his health and strength. Indeed, it was no unusual thing, but rather the custom, for the employer to hire, year after year, the same help, and try to retain it by kindness and consideration. We, therefore, can readily see that, from a purely selfish motive, the colored slave was insured fair treatment by both owner and employer; but, over and above that, comes the human, Christian, charitable side.

The South, as is well known, was settled mainly by the better class of English population; scions, often of nobility, not being the eldest son, had to seek fortune in another land under the crown; soldiers of fortune, likewise of noble birth or breeding, whose first service was to their country in war or in the civil list, later got their reward in grants of land in the colonies and made for themselves homes all over Virginia and the South of baronial importance and extent; and their descendants clung faithfully to their ancestral homes, customs and habits, as they divided and subdivided these vast acres among themselves. So that the people of the South formed homes most frequently of education and refinement, and these homes were synonymous of love and romance, chivalry, refinement and honor. This is readily shown by the fact that novelists usually sought it for the scenes of their romances, and it is safe to say that until recent years 75 per cent. of all popular novels had their scenes laid in the South in slavery days. None was complete without its set-

ting of negro quarters, the faithful body servant, its black mammy, under whose faithful and loving care the belles grew to beautiful womanhood.

It is seldom you could find man or woman who was not proud to own their obligation to these old servants, and remember them kindly to their dying day. During the Civil War every advanced Southern officer had his black body servant as his orderly, and, though hardly a week would pass that this slave could not have readily crossed the lines into the enemy's territory to freedom in the North, yet it was but seldom such desertions took place. On the other hand, instances are legion in which he carried that master to safety when he had fallen desperately wounded, and either nursed him back to health as he guided his tottering footsteps homeward, or, if fate so willed, he reverently and tearfully helped to lay him in his last resting place, and hastened away, cherishing the last dying words, to carry them to a mourning mistress and family back home.

I feel that I knew them and their character well, as all of my earliest days were spent among them, and saw them at every turn, and in every condition of servitude, not only on my father's plantation, but in long visits made to young chums on many other plantations, and am glad to bear testimony to the virtues they possessed. Their fidelity to their masters was remarkable; and their happiness and contentment were known on every hand. No higher proof of both of these could be asked or given than the fact that throughout the war, when almost every able-bodied man was away in the army, for the last draft in the South took them as was said "from the cradle to the grave," had they chosen to

have arisen in rebellion or outbreak. they would have outnumbered the men at home ten to one; yet not a single instance is recorded that anywhere, in all the South, did any such outbreaks occur, or by any action, either concerted or individually, did they show violence towards the women and children at home, left practically in their charge and at their mercy.

They were faithful to the end, and when Lee laid down his arms the great bulk of them welcomed home their defeated masters, and continued their service upon the same old plantations. I doubt if anywhere in this world's history such fidelity under such circumstances has ever been found. Still another most striking example is found in the fact that when John Brown made his raid on Harper's Ferry, and proclaimed and made known his purpose to the slaves of all that vicinity to set them free and arm them from the United States arsenal, to rise against their masters and fight for their liberty, not one slave responded to his call for freedom, but all were loyal then, as they were faithful afterwards, in their master's cause.

I need not tell this or any audience that the sweetest songs ever written in any land, are songs depicting the happiness of the negro slave in his Southern home. While the world of song shall live in America there cannot perish from its pages such melodies as "Suwanee River," "Old Black Joe," "My Old Kentucky Home," "I Am Going From the Cotton Fields," "Massah's in the Cold, Cold Ground," "I'se Working on the Levee," and a hundred minor melodies of a like tenor, and no men sing those songs with greater unction and music than this same black man of the South.

And, to a man who has heard the Southern slave singing in his quarters, in his little log church and his loved campmeeting, on the way to his work, the unequalled melody of that voice will, while memory lasts, give the everlasting lie to all stories of whippings, cruelty, oppression and wrongs which had been so freely poured forth by the writers and talkers of that day on this side of the line.

Such music does not, can not, come from a heart bending under oppression, cruelty, wrong and outrage. The word and theme of their own songs and composition, though often crude and quaint, never was of the sad or plaintive kind, but always joyous and triumphant. Deeply religious in their make-up, even to superstition, the promises of God, the love of the Saviour, fills their melodies. In this religious turn they were always given full sway and encouragement by their masters.

Their apparent confidence in salvation was like the faith of children of a larger growth, sure that it would come without good works.

Their most common transgressions were: Lying, to excuse a fault, and stealing something good to eat; of more serious crimes they were seldom guilty, profanity was seldom heard and drunkenness never, violent altercations, stabbings or fatal assaults among themselves were almost unknown.

Could that small and misguided band of people who felt it their duty in defiance of all justice and right to their Southern compatriot, as well as in defiance of the laws of the land, have known and felt the true conditions South, it seems impossible to believe that they would have continued in such acts, knowing as they did

it was at the eminent risk of violence and murder, and its final result a fratricidal war?

Some may not believe this was the condition, but I know whereof I am speaking. There undoubtedly were exceptions to the general conditions as above described, just as we of this county have innumerable divorces, cruelty and crimes at every Quarter Sessions Court; and yet we remain and are known as a righteous and law-abiding people.

It is true there was occasionally a "bad nigger" who committed crime of a gross nature, as there were also cruel and vicious masters who disregarded the rights of his slaves and his neighbors and served as a terrible example for the Abolition orators of the North to inflame the passions of the people; yet the great bulk of slaves and slave owners did lead a happy, contented and a virtuous life, and dwelt in peace and harmony together.

Therefore, to draw our lesson from these facts, remembering that, as pictured above, the Southern slave owner saw the conditions, and it is neither strange or to be wondered at that he considered the Northern man who would help his slave to escape and give him aid, comfort and assistance on the way, was, as he actually was, a law-breaker, and his enemy. Naturally, the man South who preached secession got many hearers, for under these conditions the slave owner felt that justice was not to be had by him north of Mason and Dixon's line.

This was the temper of the Southern mind largely on that fateful September day in 1851, and, while it is true many slaves did escape and flee North, yet, even in the border States, the percentage of escapes were comparatively low. However, these losses

to the individual owner were severe and not easily to be born, for remember his money and his property was in them, and the feeling that he had for the man, men or system that took them from him was about the same as that you would hold for the man who would steal your horse or burn your barn.

As it transpired, Edwin Gorsuch was a kind and indulgent master, of excellent family and standing in the community at that day, as are his descendants at this, and his three slaves had run off because they had stolen some wheat and feared the punishment provided by law in cases of larceny, a public flogging. He had been in communication with them, had sent them money and supplies, and had agreed that if they would return they would not be punished. He had been assured that if he came up for them they would return with him.

Therefore, when on that fatal morn, led on by Castnor Hanway and other of the Christiana riotors, this upright man, law-abiding citizen and man of prominence in his own State, while seeking to get into personal communication with his own slaves, hoping to persuade them to return with him, was shot down in cold blood, and after a trial had of those concerned it became evident that such a crime could be committed in the North, and go unpunished, and that a statute of the United States could be thus flagrantly transgressed and trampled under foot without punishment, the Southern mind became greatly inflamed, and the Christiana riot was largely the beginning of the end that led to the firing on Sumter, and the beginning of a terrible war.

The exact details of the riot or the trial it is not my purpose to discuss; whether the trial was rightly con-

ducted or honestly conducted, or the men were acquitted because of a partial and biased jury, is not my purpose to say; if the trial had been held in Baltimore instead of Philadelphia, it is likely quite a different result would have been had; therefore, it settled nothing.

The fact remains, and the lesson is clear, that this riot became a great factor in determining the course of hot-heads both North and South.

The fanaticism of a few men North who were determined to free the slave at any cost, be it life or treasure, was met by the hot-heads of the South, equally determined that they would leave the Union and destroy their country rather than yield to such methods and live under a government that could not, or would not, enforce its laws when slavery was concerned, and both were given a great weapon by the results of this riot.

The great bulk of the people, both North and South, saw the grave danger for the Ship of State ahead, and were extremely anxious to adjust matters that she might yet sail on serenely, and were steadily striving for that end when suddenly this grave menace arose in the path.

In the South passions were inflamed, and the total failure to punish the participants raised in their breasts a feeling that their rights had been and would continue to be ruthlessly trampled upon in such cases. In the North encouragement was given to those who for years had been aiding in the escape of fugitive slaves, and the work went on all the more industriously. Statesmen and the great political leaders both North and South saw their efforts to adjust and finally settle this great question with justice to the slave owner, freedom eventually to the slave, and the union and

peace of the country preserved, woe fully weakened by the Christiana riot. After it, war and secession loomed up dark and ominous; and after it the task of the statesmen and leaders, and of the wise, cool heads everywhere, became far more difficult.

Under such conditions this fatal outbreak became more than a riot and most serious breach against the peace and dignity of the Commonwealth and its people; it became a crime against the very life of the nation itself, not so willed, perhaps, or intended by those who were the most active participants therein, yet such it was, and the best that can be said of them is: "Father forgive them, for they know not what they do."

The political life of every nation is too often marked by such untoward events. Passion and prejudice too often rule where reason and justice should hold sway, and all too often the fairest hopes of the nation are wrecked by such lawless happenings.

Fifty years in our nation's life have softened us and helped us to forget the vengeful feelings of those days and times; the sacrifice of a hundred thousand lives has atoned for the sins and blunders of those hapless years; so let us together thank the Highest Providence, who has ever guided us into the light from darkness, that we can again gather from the North and the South, on that self-same spot, to recall and record the facts of this dark tragedy there enacted, as both have viewed it in a happy reunion, without passion and without prejudice, once again and forever one people, one Union, one nation, united and indissoluble.

Minutes of the Special Meeting

June 30, 1911.

Pursuant to action taken at the regular June meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society, a special meeting was held this evening. L. B. Herr was called to the chair, Miss Martha B. Clark acting as secretary.

The name of Howard Coates, of Nottingham, Chester county, was proposed for membership.

The following donations were announced:

Copy of address by W. U. Hensel, made at the 150th anniversary of Trinity Lutheran Church; an advertisement of Michael Bowman, forbidding the payment of his wife's debts, the advertisement being dated Manheim, January 2, 1775. by Dr. George R. Ross, of Lebanon; photographs of the paper mill and bridge at Eden, dam at Pugh's mill, at Willow Street, from D. B. Landis; ticket good for \$10, from John Baer & Son; letter from William Carpenter to John Bair, Esq., May 2, 1854, ordering locust posts to be sent by Conestoga Navigation, by J. Harry Ratfon, having been found in the old warehouse at York Furnace.

The paper of the evening was read by D. F. Magee, Esq., on the subject "The Christiana Riot; Its Causes and Effects, from a Southern Standpoint." It was a most able production, and will add value to the collection of papers on the Riot question which are being read before the society. The paper was discussed at some length by Dr. J. W. Houston, who, while an old soldier and an Abolitionist, agreed

with many points given by the author.

Following the paper remarks were made on the death of A. F. Hostetter, Esq., by L. B. Herr and A. K. Hostetter. Mr. D. B. Landis referred to the death of Samuel M. Sener, Esq., who, for many years, was librarian of the Society.

Report was made of the annual outing of the society, which was held on June 21 at Old Donegal Church, in connection with the annual reunion of that denomination. The Society was honored by being given the morning exercises, over which our president, Mr. George Steinman, presided. H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., a member of the Society, delivered the address. There was a good attendance of the members, who voted the outing a success.

Adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

SEPTEMBER 1, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE POSITION OF LANCASTER COUNTY ON THE
MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

WHO WAS JACOB HIBSHMAN, THE CONGRESSMAN
FROM LANCASTER COUNTY?

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS.

MINUTES OF SEPTEMBER MEETING.

MINUTES OF SPECIAL MEETING.

VOL. XV. NO. 7.

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LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

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The Position of Lancaster County on the Missouri Compromise.

I am requested to write a short paper on our county's attitude toward the Missouri Compromise. The Society has adopted the plan of having all the papers of the year upon one or another of the various phases of Lancaster County and Slavery. It is hoped this plan will result in a concentrated research upon this single topic, by various members of the Society, and that, thereby, the last authoritative word on the subject may be the product which our Society's research and industry brings forth. For our Society to be the final authority upon any historical subject will be a great honor to it. The plan also will give unity to the work of the year. Then, too, the public celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the chief manifestation of slavery in Lancaster County (The Christiana Riot) is designed to be a great moral object lesson and to accentuate the beauty of the long-established peace and harmony between the sections of neighboring States which clashed sixty years ago in the riot. The public celebration is also intended to cap the climax of the year's work.

This event will be held in a few days; and we feel sure it will meet the expectation of all.

It is hoped that the plan of taking up a subject during a whole year and exhausting it will be continued. Unity, dignity and authority will be achieved by that means. It would seem that the "Opening of the Conestoga Valley

200 Years Ago" is a fair topic to work upon, in 1912, because in 1712 the settlement in the Conestoga Valley began; as it had begun in the Pequea Valley in 1710.

In treating the subject, "Lancaster County's Position On the Missouri Compromise," the simplest form in which to discuss it is to take up the record of our County's Congressman on the subject, as he reflected the local sentiment. This method I have adopted. There are no contemporaneous accounts in our local newspapers reflecting the home position on the question.

Miss Martha Clark has kindly consented to add to this paper the genealogical history of our Congressman at that time, Hon. Jacob Hibshman, and also give some account of his public, political and patriotic career on other questions aside from those arising in his Congressional career.

Our county was opposed to compromises of any kind on the subject of slavery, in any section of the United States, and at any time. In harmony with the early efforts to abolish slavery in this country, among the foremost of which was the Act of Pennsylvania of 1780, our county took advanced ground on the question.

The early county Quakers, German Mennonites and others felt the institution wrong from the beginning, and had practically none of the slaves owned in this county. Former papers on this subject show that the majority of slaves here were held by the other nationalities, who were in the minority—who were indeed much in the minority—in the county. Thus, by the time of 1820 and '21, the Missouri struggle, our county was well rooted in its enmity to slavery.

Our Congressman, Jacob Hibshman, strongly reflected the local sentiment,

during his term in Congress representing us, viz., 1819 to 1821.

When the question of Missouri's admission came up, Hibshman, knowing the House to be composed so as to be able to prohibit slavery in that territory, cast a deciding vote not to let the opportunity slip to wipe slavery out of Missouri, the vote being 87 to 88. (An. 16th Cong., 1st Sess., 938.)

When the Senate sent to the House an amendment to the effect that Missouri should be admitted without the restriction of slavery, on vote, Hibshman voted against it, and demanded slavery restricted out of the proposed new State (do. 1410).

When the Senate proposed that two States be admitted—Maine free and Missouri slave—and sent that proposal to the House, Hibshman voted that they both be admitted free or Missouri be not admitted at all (do. 1455).

When the vote was taken on allowing slavery north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, north latitude, Hibshman voted against it being allowed north of that line (do. 1456). On February 29, 1819, the House took a vote on the question of allowing Missouri by a convention to decide whether she will have slavery or not; Hibshman voted against allowing her any such privilege (do. 1559). A vote was then taken on disallowing slavery in Missouri, and Hibshman voted for this, though about ten Northern Congressmen deserted their stand (do. 1565). A little later a vote was taken on the motion that even if slavery be not allowed in Missouri, the State should not be admitted until her whole Constitution was satisfactory to Congress. This was an extreme position and was lost, 49 to 125. Hibshman was found in this small band of 49 (do. 1566).

When a joint committee reported the compromise, that is allowing slavery in

Missouri, but no more slavery north of 36 degrees and 30 minutes, Hibshman voted against it, because it was yielding the Northern position (do. 1586). He held this stand, though 12 or 14 Northern men voted for the compromise, so that it carried, 90 to 87.

When these questions had all been disposed of and, December 11, 1820, the question of approving Missouri's Constitution came up, Hibshman voted against it, and in favor of keeping Missouri out, because she allowed and was permitted to have slavery; and the vote to reject the State carried, 93 to 79 (do. 669).

Clay now saw that there was no hope of admitting Missouri and urged another joint committee (do. 1027). Every means was tried to compromise. The joint committee favored allowance of slavery in Missouri, but that there be no more slaves north of her southern line. Hibshman opposed this. Then it was moved she be allowed the slaves she now has, but promise to let slavery die out with the death of her present slaves. Hibshman would not agree to this—he wanted immediate abolishment of slavery in Missouri as a condition to let her come in (do. 1114). Later he agreed to the two-year limit; but only 61 votes for it were cast.

Finally a vote was taken and Missouri was thrown out, by reason of several Congressmen being absent. Clay asked to have the vote reconsidered so that the absent ones, who now had come in, could vote. Hibshman voted against reconsideration, though only 66 members voted with him (do. 1120). Finally, however, Missouri was admitted, but at every step Hibshman voted against it because she was allowed to retain slavery. Thus, through her Congressman, Lancaster County is registered as having opposed any slavery at all, in Missouri.

Who Was Jacob Hibshman, the Congressman from Lancaster County?

John Gerhard Hibshman was a native of Switzerland, and came to this country in 1732, at the age of 19 years. Five years later, returning to his native land for his wife, he sailed on the ship St. Andrew, September 24, 1737, from Rotterdam, Holland, for the land of his adoption—America. He settled in Lancaster County and purchased a farm for his new home. It is now owned by Israel Miller and lies four miles north of Ephrata.

John Gerhard Hibshman had four children, viz., Wendel, Henry, Catharine and Elizabeth. Michael inherited the farm of his father, and married Hannah, daughter of John and Elizabeth Heffley, early settlers of Ephrata township. He had five children, Jacob, Henry, Hannah, Mary and John. Wendel Hibshman became prominent and held the honorable position of Major in the Revolutionary War, in the Third Battalion of the Lancaster County Militia, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bower, August 26, 1780, to April 15, 1783. In the military records of the State I find the name spelled Hipshman, and when taking the oath of allegiance it is written Gernard Hipshman. Wendel Hibshman and family are buried in the private burial ground of their ancestral home.

The most prominent of this noted family, in our county, was Jacob, the son of Wendel Hibshman. As a Jeffersonian Democrat, he entered the field of politics. He was a scrivener and

Justice of the Peace for many years; elected Associate Judge of Lancaster County, January 24, 1811—serving until December, 1819, when he resigned. He was a member of the 16th Congress, to which he was elected in 1818, having defeated James Buchanan in the Congressional contest and serving from 1819 to 1821—two years and one term.

He was a very prominent and distinguished member, as Mr. Eshleman has shown. The Congressional District at that date was composed of the counties of Lancaster, Lebanon and Dauphin. He was appointed by the Governor appraiser of damages suffered by landowners in consequence of public improvements at that time—viz., canals, etc.

Jacob Hibshman was elected Surveyor of the counties of York, Dauphin and Lancaster, a deputy under the Surveyor General for many years. The first of whom there is a record was Jacob Hibshman, who was commissioned December 18, 1813, and served until 1819. In that year the counties were divided into two districts—Northern and Southern. He was again elected June 7, 1824, and May 25, 1836, of the Northern district.

Jacob Hibshman was not only prominent in the civil organizations of the State, but held the rank of Brigadier General for twelve years in the Fifth Division of the Pennsylvania Militia.

In 1824, when General Lafayette visited the United States, he was chairman of the committee appointed by the people of the town and county of Lancaster to do him honor, and had the compliment of introducing this distinguished Frenchman who had so nobly helped to gain our liberty. The Revolutionary soldiers entertained Lafayette.

Jacob Hibshman married Elizabeth Atkinson, daughter of Thomas and Salome Atkinson, and they had the following children: Polly, Lydia, Edward, Jacob, Elizabeth, Amelia and John. He died May 19, 1852, at his residence in Ephrata, aged 80 years, 4 months and 19 days. His wife passed away May 4, 1811. Both are interred in the Hibshman burying ground.

Henry Hibshman, a younger son of Wendel, and brother of Jacob, also held positions of prominence, as we find him a member of the State Legislature from 1811-1815-1821; and elected to the State Senate in 1833.

He also inherited the military spirit of his family as a member of the State Militia, retiring with the rank of General, and was also a commissioned officer in the War of 1812. Henry Hibshman was Recorder of Lancaster County from 1824 to 1830.

Mr. Harry Hibshman, a member of the Lancaster County Historical Society, a resident of Ephrata, Pa., is a great-grandson of Jacob Hibshman.

Mr. George Hibshman, of Ephrata, now the Representative from the Northern district of Lancaster county in the Legislature, is a grandson of Jacob Hibshman.

AUTOGRAPH LETTERS

At the May meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society a number of valuable contributions were acknowledged, among them being the following:

A Joshua Yeates Letter.

Hon. Edwin S. Stuart, ex-Mayor of Philadelphia and ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, transmitted for presentation to the Society a very valuable autograph letter of Jasper Yeates, addressed to his father, in 1765. The letter throws very interesting side lights on the parental and filial relation of that day, on the philosophic temperament of its writer, and on the recent bereavement which had occurred in the domestic life of the Yeates family. The letter follows:

To (Postage Paid)
John Yeates Esquire
Comptroller of His Majesty's
Customs
For the district of Pokomoke,
In Maryland,
Residing at Vienna,
On Nanticoke River.
Lancaster, May 5th, 1765.

Ever Dear & Honoured Sir:

My last to you was dated the 8th ult. With Reluctance I am now obliged to perform the bitterest Task!—My Brother is no more.—By a letter transmitted me from Philadelphia, I find Mr. Plumsted has received from Capt. Snead certain Advice, that he expired of a Fever at Guardaloupe, after laying but four Days.—Our Re-

lations have expected that I become the Instrument of informing you of the melancholy Tidings. Forgive the cruel Necessity I lay under of being the unwilling Messenger of this worst of News. My Heart, which but too susceptible of the tenderest natural Emotions, plainly speaks in my Behalf, and my trembling Hand which now scarce vouchsafes its Office, pleads my Apology. Oh, Sir, Submissively let me intreat of you, as well my Sister, not to give Way to Sorrow;—the best—the kindest Parent—the most tender and affectionate Sister & Brother, are each Day exposed to the same vicissitudes of Fortune. Reason, therefore, must in some Measure, counteract Nature, and the Passions implanted in our Frame, be conducted into their proper Channel. The Object of your and our Affection, has by the Ordinance of Providence, paid the Debt due from Mortality and we must all follow the Precedent. We should consequently struggle against an inordinate Grief, tho' resulting from the deep Wound which we have sustained in being thus deprived of a mutual Support, not only as useless both to the deceased and those still alive—but as it argues Dissatisfaction with the Decrees of the Diety, & Contempt of his moral Government. I do not, Honoured Sir, think, that God expects of us Impossibilities. His Wisdom, Goodness and Mercy forbid the most distant thought which has so impious a tendency;—But yet, I am of Opinion that we are not to murmur or repine at the Dispensations of Providence. Tho' we cannot comprehend the Scheme of the great System of Events which daily occur in Life, Religion teaches us, that all Things have some benign end, & will finally promote our Happiness. The Death of a beloved Person, if it creates Anguish and Uneasiness for a

Season, by dissolving the tenderest Connections,—at the same Time teaches us Moderation in the Stress we should lay on the more Fortunate Occurrences which may befall us, and the Degree of Affection we should bear Mortality. Too strong an Attachment to anything Earthly, tho' founded on the most disinterested Love, and increased by Merit in the Object,—we must consider as productive of the Bitterness of Infelicity. Every Period of our Lives being subject to Calamity, where our Situations are otherwise tolerably easy, we are to bear with Patience the Afflictions, with which a merciful Creator has thought proper to intersperse every Stage of our Existence.

Interested, as I am so very Intimately, in the general Misfortune, I am readier to allow in Theory the Justness of the Short Hints I have taken the Liberty to throw out to the most affectionate Father, than to evince my Assent to them by the Effect they should produce in my Mind. While I would act the Philosopher, I betray but my own Weakness, and tho' my Duty to you demands the Tribute of every Comfort in my Power, I feel—forcibly feel my own Insufficiency, and that I stand in equal Need of the Soothing Arts of Sympathy & Condolance. It would be ungrateful in me, in the highest Degree, not to acknowledge on this Occasion, the kindness of Mr. Shippen's and Col. Burd's Families towards me; my Sense of whose Favours, no Time or Situation shall ever obliterate.

In my last Letter to you, which was forwarded by the Way of Deep Creek, as recommended by you, I observed, that I had wrote to Mr. Willing for a letter to the Surveyor General, to grant you Leave to revisit Philada. which I doubt not will be complied

with. At present, I don't think of leaving Lancaster, till I hear further from you. Dr. Smith pressed me warmly on a Ride he lately took up here, to be present at the next Commencement. I did not give him my absolute Promise, so am at Liberty to follow my own Inclination. I am not, however, without some Thoughts of taking a second Degree, before a Diploma be clogged with the cruel Imposition of 40 £ Stirl. I have wrote to Jessey Ewing, inclosing him a little Money, & have also recommended him to Donaldson Yeates, begging he will give him every Piece of Advice he shall think necessary, and carefully to superintend his Actions, whenever it may lay in his Way. From the latter I lately recd. News of Jessey's welfare.

Pray remember my kind Love to Sister and the Children. I would write to Sister, but that I consider a Line directed to you in the same Light, as if her own Name was on the Direction. I am

Dear & Honoured Sir

Your most Affectionate

And Dutiful Son

JASPER YEATES.

All our Friends and relations are
well in Philada. Mr. Shippen de-
sires his Compliments to you. }

To

John Yeates, Esquire.

Anti-Masonic Days Recalled.

Mr. George H. Pell, of New York, presented to the Society an interesting and valuable manuscript, in the form of an autograph letter, dated at Pittsburgh, October 19, 1835, and addressed to William Hiester, of New Holland, who was the father of the late Hon.

Isaac Hiester, of this city, one-time Congressman and a distinguished lawyer. Mr. Hiester was related to Amos Ellmaker, father of the late N. Ellmaker, Esq., and, like his relative, was an active anti-Mason in the days when opposition to this famous secret society was a burning issue in Pennsylvania politics. The writer of the letter was Harmar Denny, a very distinguished citizen of Pittsburgh in his day. He was of that notable Scotch-Irish Denny family, who, having originally settled in Bucks County, then located at Carlisle and pushed forward to the great West and Southwest, leaving the iron print of their strong individuality a trail across the State. The Dennys married into the Wilkins, O'Hara and other conspicuous families of Western Pennsylvania. Harmar Denny was given his first name by his father out of a compliment to his military associate, General Harmar. The son was born May 13, 1794, and died January 9, 1852. He was graduated from Dickinson College in 1813, and became a lawyer, associated for a time with Henry Baldwin, who was one of the ablest jurists who ever sat on the Supreme Bench of the United States. Harmar Denny was a member of the Legislature, and, after eight years' service in Congress, declined re-election to become a member of the Constitutional Convention of Pennsylvania in 1837. He was an elector for President Harrison in 1840, and was largely interested in business affairs in Pittsburgh, and took great interest in educational agricultural and Presbyterian Church work. His daughter was married to the Rev. Dr. William Paxson, of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and their daughter is the wife of Rev. Dr.

L. S. Mudge, of the Presbyterian Church of this city. This letter is especially interesting from the fact that Amos Ellmaker was the candidate of the Anti-Masonic party for Vice President in 1832. Mr. Denny seems to have been "booming" him for re-nomination on the ticket of which Daniel Webster was to be the head.

Pittsbg Octr 19th 1835

Dr Sir

Private.

As antimasons we have drawn the sword & thrown away the scabbard. it becomes us therefore after one battle fought to prepare for another. & after one glorious victory gained, to be animated in the pursuit of another. Providence has smiled on our efforts in the State and I trust will favor us in the contest for the Presidency. The antimasonic national convention is to take place at Washington last Monday in Decr next unless the national commee had advised otherwise. The day of meeting is not very distant & at that convention candidates for the P & C. P. will probably be put in nomination; is it not therefore expedient as our State election is now over to make some movements with a view to carrying out the recommendation of the anti M. Baltre convention to meet in convention at Washington in Decr. It seems to me no time ought to be lost. I am clear for the party making a nomination. I think I perceive that Mr. Haller of Boston is adroitly endeavoring to place our party in a position by which we will be compelled to vote for Van B. or our opposition to him paralyzed. The movement is cunning but I think it will not succeed. It is to reduce the contest to V. B. & White. this will leave us no choice. to support White we cannot, & to rally

under the V. B. flag which we have just now prostrated will be to throw from us the advantage of our recent victory "raise up again the enemy to prostrate us. I presume our antimasonic friends will give to Penna. one of the candidates. I am willing to take one from Massachusetts. Webster or Adams with Ellmaker or Stevens, will form a ticket which will meet my most cordial support should the convention take it up. For the Presidency I do not hesitate to say that I should prefer Webster, although as an antimason Mr Adams has most warmly espoused our cause & has endeared himself to us. And most heartily would I approve of the nomination of either of our distinguished friends Messrs Ellmaker or Stevens & so would every honest antimason. The prospect of carrying our ticket with such men is in my opinion very favorable. I think we ought to make a demonstration on this important matter before the Whigs in our State move in it. Would it not be well therefore to throw out for the consideration of our antimasonic friends the names of these gentlemen. The delegates to the convention would then go to it with some points upon which they could rally. there would then be none of the embarrassment we experienced at the convention we held in Baltimore in Sept 1831. Unless we make an early movement I am afraid we will be divided by the efforts of V. B. friends. As for Tecumseh, we can beat him if we present to the nation a suitable candidate and I am sure either of the gentlemen named would be satisfactory. I do not think the nation will concur in this part of the Baltimore nomination although I do not know that any other person has been named for the V. P.

Will you think of these things & if

it do not trespass too much an your
time drop me a line.

Yours Sincerely

HARMAR DENNY.

Hon. Wm. Heister
New Holland
Lancaster
Pa

Old German Document.

Mr. Pell also presented, from Mr. Hiester's papers, three curious old German documents, which Professor Schiedt has abstracted as follows:

The printed document is a pass granted by Ernst Philipp Heller, government chancellor of the kingdom of Wurtemberg to the widow of the late master carpenter Hopfengartner, who went to America with Dr. Seegar and his wife to visit her father.

The longest document states that the widow of the late George Ferdinand Hopfengartner, a daughter of Andreas Gramm, who emigrated to Philadelphia, where he assumed the name of Brand, wishes to pay a visit to her father, but desires to retain her citizenship at Stuttgart, her place of residence.

Said Mrs. Christiana Margaretha Hopfengartner is permitted to retain her citizenship as long as she does not violate the laws of Wurtemberg and pays her annual citizen's tax.

Certified by Friedrich Benj. Benz, Mayor of Stuttgart, March 27, 1794.

The third document is a certificate of Pastor Lander, stating that on the 2d of November, 1784, George Ferdinand Hopfengartner, citizen and cabinet maker, son of Christoph Friedrich Hopfengartner, chief of the cabinet makers' guild, was married to Christiana Margareth, daughter of Andreas Gramm, citizen and merchant of Stuttgart.

Stuttgart, April 10, 1794.

Minutes of September Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 1, 1911.

The regular September meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in the Smith Free Library building.

In the absence of the president, Dr. J. W. Houston was called to the chair, and Mr. A. K. Hostetter acted as secretary pro tem.

After the roll of officers was called, Howard Coates, of Nottingham, Chester county, was elected a member. Dr. Edward Nevin Stump, of Marietta, was nominated for membership.

H. Frank Eshleman, as a member of the committee (consisting of W. U. Hensel, B. C. Atlee and Mr. Eshleman, appointed by President Steinman) made a partial report on the progress of the committee on the Christiana riot celebration.

Upon motion, the report was accepted and the committee continued.

The librarian, Mr. Steigerwalt, announced the following donations received since the last meeting:

Rafinesque, A Sketch of His Life, with Bibliography, from Historical Department of Iowa; Wisconsin Women in the War and the Chattanooga Campaign, from Wisconsin History Commission; Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletins 43, 44, 50 and 51; Barratt's Chapel and Methodism, from the author, Hon. Norris S. Barratt; Schoepf's Travels, two volumes, by purchase; Schuylkill County Historical Society Publications, Volume III.; German-American Annals, January to April, 1911; Proceedings of American

Philosophical Society for May-June and July-August, 1911; Records of American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, June, 1913; American Catholic Historical Researches, October, 1911; Pennsylvania-German, June, July and August, 1911; Pennsylvania Magazine of History, April and July, 1911; Letter to John Keane, Esq., of Lancaster (1806), donated by Martin I. J. Griffen; copy of "Night Thoughts," by Edwin Young, LL.D.; original poems, by John McNair, D.D., Jacob E. Barr, publisher, Lancaster, Pa.; copy Declaration of Independence, "Exhibition Chart," Fitz; two nails from Columbia bridge, burned by Confederates; two cannon balls of the War of 1812. All contributed by Miss Elizabeth A. Simpson.

The University of California having asked for a complete set of the Societys' publications, in exchange for their periodicals, Dr. R. K. Buehrle offered all of his holdings (nearly a complete set) to the Society to be forwarded to California. A vote of thanks was extended to Dr. Buehrle for his gift.

A paper written by H. Frank Eshleman on "Congressman Hibshman's Attitude on the Slavery Question in the Missouri Compromise" was read by D. B. Landis.

On motion of Mr. Eshleman, the question of supplemental matter relating to the attitude of our Congressmen on the slavery issue be referred to a committee of four to be appointed by the chairman. The latter appointed Mr. Eshleman, Dr. Buehrle, Miss Martha B. Clark and Miss Esther Spindler.

On motion, the Society adjourned to meet on Tuesday evening, September 5, to receive the full report of the committee on the Christiana celebration.

Minutes of the Special Meeting

Lancaster, Pa., Sept. 5, 1911.

A special meeting of the Lancaster County Historical Society was held this evening in the Smith Free Library building. Mr. F. R. Diffenderfer, one of the vice presidents, was in the chair.

The business before the meeting was the presentation of the report of the committee on the Christiana riot celebration by the chairman, Mr. W. U. Hensel. Arrangements for the demonstration were fully outlined, and Mr. Hensel also gave a brief review of the history which he has prepared covering all the events which led up to the Christiana outbreak, and the subsequent treason trial.

On motion, the report was received with thanks, and the committee continued.

On motion a rising vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Hensel for the compilation of the valuable history, and also for his work in arranging for the celebration.

On motion, the Society adjourned.

PAPERS

OF THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

AUGUST 4, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE COMMEMORATION OF THE "CHRISTIANA RIOT"
AND THE "TREASON TRIALS" OF 1851.

ON SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1911.

VOL. XV.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

CHRISTIANA CELEBRATION TO BE A NOTABLE AFFAIR.

DISTINGUISHED CITIZENS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE RIOT.

Local Committee and Members of County Historical Society Working to Complete Arrangements. A Souvenir Programme.

The executive committee of the Lancaster County Historical Society, appointed to take charge of the celebration at Christiana on Saturday, September 9, 1911, has been actively at work all summer on the programme of exercises. The committee is organized as follows: W. U. Hensel, chairman; H. Frank Eshleman, secretary; B. C. Atlee, treasurer; J. Guy Eshleman, clerk, box 34, Lancaster.

It proceeded to appoint auxiliary committees, constituted of the following named persons:

Dr. L. W. Pownall, Chairman; Chas. S. Slokom, Secretary; Roy H. Passmore, Treasurer; Calvin Carter, E. G. Broomell, Thos. Whitson, J. D. Hastings, Wm. Fieles, M. P. Cooper, M. K. Hammond, Dr. T. S. Irwin, J. G. Mast, Marvin E. Bushong, Geo. S. Hartman, Amos Gilbert, M. J. Brinton, J. A. Harrar, Dr. O. H. Paxson, P. E. Hannum, James H. Whiteside, A. J. Melcher, Edw. J. Knox, Thomas McGowan, Fred. Brinton, Dr. J. R. Martin, Frank M. Trout, Robert S. McClure, B. Frank Leaman, George W. Hensel, Jr., Samuel J. Nixon, Frank Walter, E. H. Keen, Jones Eavenson, Edwin Trout, J. F. Reynolds, W. D. Swisher, H. L. Skiles, Samuel Carter, Wm. Chamberlain and William Hopkins.

This committee composed of representative citizens of Christiana, Sadsbury, Bart, and other neighboring districts, holds well-attended weekly

meetings every Thursday evening has sub-committees on entertainment, music, grounds and seats, site and erection of monument, parades, and other details.

The honorary reception committee includes Geo. Steinman, Hon. J. Hay Brown, Hon. E. G. Smith, Hon. W. W. Griest, Hon. John G. Homsher, Hon. H. L. Rhoads, Charles E. Pugh, Ambrose Pownall, Cyrus Brinton, Thomas Hirst, James P. Marsh, Brinton Walter, Wm. McGowan, Sr., M. B. Kent, Samuel Carter, Francis Lennox, Dr. H. McGowan, George Steel, F. R. Diefenderffer, Hon. C. I. Landis, Hon. A. B. Hassler, Hon. Thos. S. Butler, Hon. W. C. Sproul, Hon. F. B. McClain, Jos. C. Walker, Morris Cooper, W. P. Brinton, Thos. J. Phillips, W. S. Hastings, James M. Walker, Gilbert Bushong, Benjamin Eavenson, Peter Woods, Samuel Whitson, William L. Jackson, H. R. Fulton, Chas. Dingee, Samuel R. Slaymaker, H. C. Hopkins, Henry Preston.

The progress thus far made justifies the expectation that this will be the most significant and successful celebration ever held by the Lancaster County Historical Society.

For convenience of visitors it has been deemed advisable to hold the exercises in the borough of Christiana; but arrangements will be made for a morning automobile trip over the entire locality occupied and traversed

by the participants in the historic tragedy of 1851.

In order that the commemoration shall have no partisan nor sectional aspect, and to secure the attendance and interest of the friends and families of the Southerners killed and wounded, it is proposed to treat the incident as one purely of historic significance, and as illustrating the early stages of the great conflict between law and liberty which finally culminated in the drama of the Civil War.

A complete and accurate history of the so-called "Christiana Riot" and the ensuing "Treason Trials" will be prepared and published. The attendance of the few survivors of these events and of the posterity of the many who are dead will be secured. A monument telling the story of 1851, and bearing the names associated with it, will be erected and unveiled. Christiana will have an "Old Home Week" for its widely-dispersed children, and, altogether, it will be a unique occasion.

Mrs. Jean Foulke, of West Chester; Francis Fisher Kane and John Kent Kane, of the Philadelphia Bar, direct descendants of Judge Kane, of the District Court, who figured largely in the trial of the case, will be guests of the occasion. Some of Judge Kane's official successors, including Hon. George Gray, of the Circuit Court of Appeals; Judges McPherson and Holland, also of the United States Court of Philadelphia; the United States Attorney and Marshall are expected.

The family of Edward Gorsuch, of Glencoe, Baltimore county, Md., have become very much interested in the commemoration, since they fully understand the spirit in which it is undertaken. His former home, from which the runaway slaves escaped and on which his body was buried soon after the "riot," is now owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. F. G. Mitchell. She was a daughter of Dickinson Gorsuch, who was dangerously wounded and was nursed to life at the Pownall homestead, the kindness of whose inmates he never forgot. Representatives of the committee and of the Historical Society have made two visits to the Gorsuchses. Dr.

and Mrs. Mitchell, their two daughters and son, will be guests of the Society on the 8th, 9th and 10th. Photographic sketches of the Gorsuch homestead, the slave quarters and the grave of the victim of the tragedy have been made and will illustrate the history of it. All the descendants of Edward Gorsuch will be invited. The Gorsuch diaries, recorded in 1851, have been placed at the service of the historians.

Peter Woods, colored, an old and very respectable citizen-farmer of Colerain township, is the only survivor of the thirty-eight persons indicted for treason. On a recent visit of the committee to him he was found alert and much interested in the celebration, which he expects to attend with his wife and thirteen children. His recollection of the events is clear and accurate, and he contributes materially to the history in preparation.

His inclusion in this indictment recently served him well. Being a veteran soldier of the Union armies he was entitled to an increase of pension if he could prove he was now over seventy-five years of age. He had no other evidence than that he was indicted for "treason and levying war against the United States" in 1851. The Government assumed that he must have been more than fifteen years old then; and now he gets his \$20 a month for services in the army.

The descendants of Elijah Lewis and Joseph Scarlett—two of the three principal figures—have been hunted up; and the collateral relatives of Castner Hanway, whose sole trial was the storm center of the event. He left no direct descendants, but many relatives. His niece, Mrs. James H. Whiteside, of Christiana, has furnished his pictures to the committee, and her husband has kindly offered his fine meadow and grounds for the exercises of the day.

There has turned up to supply the missing portraiture of Elijah Lewis, a daguerreotype of Lewis, Scarlett and Hanway, taken just after their acquittal in 1851, and from it has been made a fine plate for illustration. Also a fac-simile of the letter written by

Senator William H. Seward about the trial.

The monument will be a fine piece of Barre granite, quarried from the hills of Thaddeus Stevens' native State, and inscribed with dates and recitals appropriate to the commemoration and with the names of all the defendants in the trial and the sufferers in the riot. It will be erected at a site near where the marines landed from the cars of the old State road. Company K, of this city, one of the crack commands of the National Guard, will participate in the dedication. It will be headed by Burger's famous military band, and the numbers will consist of marches, patriotic selections, negro melodies, and Southern favorites like "Dixie" and "Maryland, My Maryland." The church choirs and public school children of Christiana and the fine cornet band of that town will give variety to the programme—all the details of which will be announced later.

Governors Tener, of Pennsylvania, and Caruthers, of Maryland, and ex-Governors Pennypacker and Stuart, Congressmen Griest, Butler, Olmsted, Rothermel and others, of Pennsylvania; Talbott, who represents Baltimore county, Md.; Senators Homsher, Sproul and Thompson; Judge N. C. Burke, of the latter county, besides those already mentioned, will participate; and Hon. S. W. McCall, of Massachusetts, the biographer of Thaddeus Stevens; U. S. General Solicitor F. W. Lehmann and some other eminent lawyers may discuss the legal aspects of the treason trials;

while the historical features of the escape of the slaves, attempt and failure to recapture them and the bloody battle that ensued will be treated by others.

A special buffet luncheon will be served by the citizens of Christiana to the soldiers and musicians in the Masonic Hall banquet room; and in the capacious basement of the M. E. Church the Ladies' Aid Society will have a cold luncheon, coffee, fruit, ice cream, etc., to all comers at a reasonable price. They will also have a buffet à la carte, and the ice cream and fruit privileges on the grounds. The characteristic hospitality of Christiana households will also be extended to hundreds of visitors and former residents of the vicinity, whose homecoming will be a notable feature of the occasion.

A souvenir programme, illustrated and historical, will be prepared uniform with those of the Fulton celebration of 1909 and the Bi-Centennial of 1910, so that when a half-score of these popular celebrations shall have passed a bound volume of these souvenirs will make a book of much value and rare interest.

In order that arrangements be made for the visitors and participants, and that they may be from time to time kept informed of the details of the celebration, members of the Lancaster County Historical Society and others who expect to attend should send a notice of their intention to the Clerk of the Committee, Box 34, Lancaster.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OCTOBER 6, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE COMMEMORATION OF THE CHRISTIANA RIOT AND TREASON TRIAL OF 1851.

MINUTES OF OCTOBER MEETING.

THE CHRISTIANA RIOT AND THE TREASON TRIALS OF 1851 (AN HISTORICAL SKETCH).

VOL. XV. NO. 8.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY.

LANCASTER, PA.

1911.

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The Christiana Riot and the Treason Trials of 1851.				
By W. U. HENSEL				

Report of Committee on the Commemoration of the Christiana Riot and Treason Trials of 1851.

To the Lancaster County Historical Society:

Your Committee on the above commemoration respectfully reports that it has completed its labors; and it desires to supplement preliminary reports with the statement that since your last meeting the exercises have been held, substantially as then announced.

Despite most unfavorable weather conditions and a pouring rain that interfered with the outdoor demonstration and the meeting in the open air—for which elaborate local preparations had been made—and notwithstanding the non-arrival of the monument in time to be placed and unveiled, the literary, musical and historical exercises were held in the Methodist Episcopal Church at Christiana, as fully detailed in an appendix to this report.

The monument is a fine piece of Vermont granite, consisting of a base and solid massive shaft, inscribed with the names of all who were indicted for treason and of those killed and wounded in the riot, together with the dates and sentiments in harmony with the spirit of the celebration.

Your Committee's chairman prepared and published an extended, and it is believed the first complete and accurate, history of the event, making a volume of 134 pages in the first edition, profusely illustrated. (This history appears as a supplement to the October pamphlet of the Society.)

A revised and enlarged second edition is in press, which contains much new matter, including an account of the commemoration exercises. A bound copy will be added to the library of the Society.

Through the contributions of Charles E. Pugh, W. C. Sproul, W. W. Griest, George Steinman, J. Hay Brown, George W. Hensel, Jr., and W. U. Hensel, the cost of the monument was defrayed; and the Pennsylvania Railroad Company not only gave the site, but provided the solid foundation and concrete base.

All of the local expenses were paid by voluntary contributions to the highly efficient committee of citizens of Christiana and vicinity, whose zeal and energy cannot be too much commented.

The printing of programmes was partially paid for by their sale; and the publication of the history is the individual undertaking of its author.

Besides the postage and printing there will remain some miscellaneous expenses, not yet fully ascertained, which will be provided for by private subscriptions.

W. U. HENSEL,
Chairman.

H. FRANK ESHLEMAN,
Secretary.

BENJ. C. ATLEE.

THE COMMEMORATIVE EXERCISES.

Under the auspices of the Lancaster County Historical Society in Christiana, Pa., on Saturday, September 9, 1911, there was held a Commemoration of the famous Christiana Riot. Despite a heavy downpour of rain there was an unprecedented concourse of people assembled in the town at an early hour and they continued to participate in the exercises until they concluded. Through some mishap of transportation the monument to have been dedicated did not arrive in time to be erected and formally dedicated, but the base having been completed, the ceremonies took place thereon and around it; and the massive shaft was put in place on

the following Monday, the exact anniversary day. By reason of the weather conditions the parade also had to be abandoned, and the literary exercises were held in the M. E. Church, the following programme being carried out:

I.

Invocation	REV. R. F. WRIGHT, of Zion A. M. E. Church.
Music, "America"	CHRISTIANA CORNET BAND.
Presentation	B. C. ATLEE, Esq.
Music, "Star Spangled Banner" ..	CHRISTIANA CORNET BAND.
Acknowledgment	CHARLES S. SLOKOM, Burgess of Christiana.
Music, "Dixie"	CHRISTIANA CORNET BAND.
Doxology, "Old Hundred."	
Benediction	REV. A. T. STEWART.

II.

11 A.M. Automobile trip to the "Riot House"; by Bridge Street to Noble Road; thence to Second Cross Roads, turning to right at road to Brinton's Mill, down hill to corner of New Valley Road; south of bridge turn to right and by John H. Ranck's and B. F. Leaman's (on which farm Hanway's "red mill" stood—note Hanway's house, now vacant, on right), Samuel Sheaffer's, Agnes Lantz's (note streamer at site of old Riot House), Levi Pownall's heirs (house on right where Dickinson Gorsuch was nursed), Edward Johnson's and Joseph S. Davis's, to Noble Road; up road through P. R. R. arch to Bridge Street and Christiana.

III.

11.30 A.M. to 1.30 P.M. Luncheon. Served in the basement of M. E. Church, by ladies of the Church.

IV.

Opening Prayer	REV. T. S. MINKER, of Christiana M. E. Church.
Music, "My Old Kentucky Home," accompanied by Burger's Fourth Regiment Band	VOCAL CHORUS.
Address of Welcome	THOMAS WHITSON, Esq.

Music, "Columbia, the Gem of the

Ocean"BURGER'S FOURTH REGIMENT BAND.

IntroductionCHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE OF
ARRANGEMENTS.

Commemoration AddressREV. DR. HENRY J. COUDEN, Chap-
lain of the House of Representa-
tives of the United States.

Presentation of Memorial Medals..H. FRANK ESHLEMAN, ESQ.

To Mrs. F. G. Mitchell, followed by Band selection, "Dixie."

To Peter Woods, followed by "Old Black Joe."

Music, "Star Spangled Banner" ..BURGER'S FOURTH REGIMENT BAND.

Short AddressesGOVERNOR JOHN K. TENER; HON.
M. E. OLMSTED, Congressman;
HON. F. B. McCLAIN, Mayor of
Lancaster; HON. W. C. SPROUL,
of Chester, State Senator; FRANCIS
FISBEE KANE, ESQ., of Philadel-
phia.

Vocal Chorus, "Suane River" ...BURGER'S FOURTH REGIMENT BAND.

BenedictionREV. CLIFTON HARRIS, of the Atglen
Baptist Church.

THE MEMORIAL MEDALS.

The memorial medals which were the subjects of the presentation were especially designed by the engravers of the United States Mint, at Philadelphia. Both are massive circular pieces of silver, three inches in diameter and one fourth of an inch thickness of rim.

The one presented to Mrs. Mitchell, granddaughter of Edward Gorsuch, represents the "Law" side of the sentiments involved in the celebration. It bears the profile bust of Millard Fillmore, under whose administration as President the Fugitive Slave Law was passed, and by the direction of whose Cabinet treason trials were instituted and conducted. On the reverse side is engrossed:

In memory of Edward Gorsuch. Commemoration of Christiana Riot and Treason Trials. 1851—September 11—1911.

The one presented to Peter Woods represents the idea of "Liberty," and bears a magnificent relief head of Abraham Lincoln, and on the other side the inscription:

Peter Woods. Freeman, soldier, citizen. Sole survivor of the Christiana Riot and Treason Trials. 1851—September 11—1911.

THE MEMORIAL SHAFT.

The monument is a three-ton shaft of Barre granite. It stands eleven feet above the sidewalk at the northeast corner of the subway erected by the Pennsylvania Railroad in Christiana. This view is from the northeast and presents the memorial to Edward Gorsuch who "died for law" and to Castner Hanway who "suffered for freedom." On the other faces are inscribed the dates of the riot and trial and the names of all the 38 defendants in the treason cases.

COMMITTEES ON COMMEMORATION.

Officers of the Lancaster County Historical Society.—*President*, George Steinman; *Vice-Presidents*, F. R. Diffenderffer, Litt.D., W. U. Hensel, LL.D.; *Secretary*, Charles B. Hollinger; *Corresponding Secretary*, Miss Martha B. Clark; *Treasurer*, A. K. Hostetter; *Librarian*, Charles T. Steigerwalt; *Assistant Librarian*, Miss Lottie M. Bausman; *Executive Committee*, A. K. Hostetter, W. U. Hensel, D. F. Magee, Geo. F. K. Erisman, D. B. Landis, H. Frank Eshleman, Monroe B. Hirsh, Mrs. Sarah B. Carpenter, Miss Lottie M. Bausman, L. B. Herr, John L. Summy, Mrs. M. N. Robinson.

Arrangements Committee.—W. U. Hensel, *Chairman*; H. Frank Eshleman, *Secretary*; B. C. Atlee, *Treasurer*; J. Guy Eshleman, *Clerk*.

Local Committee.—Dr. L. W. Pownall, *Chairman*; Charles S. Slokom, *Secretary*; Roy H. Passmore, *Treasurer*; Calvin Carter, E. G. Broomell, Thos. Whitson, J. D. Hastings,



THE MEMORIAL.

This monument is a massive three ton shaft of Barre (Vt.), granite; it stands eleven feet above the sidewalk, at the northeast corner of the splendid subway erected by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in the borough of Christiana and formally opened on the day of the Commemoration. This view is from the northeast and presents the memorial to Edward Gorsuch who "died for Law" and to Castner Hanway who "suffered for freedom." On the other faces are inscribed the dates of the Riot and of the Trial, and the names of all the 38 defendants in the Treason Cases.

Wm. Fielis, M. P. Cooper, M. K. Hammond, Dr. T. S. Irwin, J. G. Mast, Marvin E. Bushong, Geo. S. Hartman, Amos Gilbert, J. A. Harrar, Dr. O. H. Paxson, P. E. Hannum, James H. Whiteside, A. J. Melcher, Edw. J. Knox, Thomas McGowan, Fred. Brinton, Dr. J. R. Martin, Frank M. Trout, Robert S. McClure, B. Frank Leaman, M. J. Brinton, George W. Hensel, Jr., Samuel J. Nixon, Frank Walter, E. H. Keen, Jones Eavenson, Edwin Trout, J. F. Reynolds, W. D. Swisher, H. L. Skiles, Samuel Carter, Wm. Chamberlin, Wm. Hopkins.

Honorary Reception Committee.—George Steinman, Hon. J. Hay Brown, Hon. E. G. Smith, Hon. W. W. Griest, Hon. John G. Homsher, Hon. H. L. Rhoads, Charles E. Pugh, Ambrose Pownall, Cyrus Brinton, Thomas Hirst, James P. Marsh, Brinton Walter, Wm. McGowan, Sr., M. B. Kent, F. R. Diffenderffer, Francis Lennox, Dr. H. McGowan, George Steele, W. S. Hastings, Hon. A. B. Hassler, Hon. Thos. S. Butler, Hon. W. C. Sproul, Hon. F. B. McClain, Joseph C. Walker, Morris Cooper, W. P. Brinton, Thos. J. Phillips, D. F. Magee, Hon. C. I. Landis, James M. Walker, Gilbert Bushong, Benjamin Eavenson, Peter Woods, Samuel Whitson, William L. Jackson, H. R. Fulton, H. C. Hopkins, Rev. R. F. Wright, Chas. Dingee, Henry Preston, S. R. Slaymaker, A. K. Hostetter.

Minutes of the October Meeting.

LANCASTER, Oct. 6, 1911.

The Lancaster County Historical Society met in regular monthly session this evening in the Smith public library building. Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, one of the vice-presidents, was in the chair.

Librarian Steigerwalt announced the following contributions since the last meeting:

History of Lodge No. 43, F. & A. M., of Lancaster, Pa., 1785-1810, from A. H. Hershey; Annual Report of American Historical Association, 1908, Vol. II, Pt. I & II; Pennsylvania-German; Proceedings American Philosophical Society; Proceedings American Catholic Historical Society; three numbers of Linden Hall Echo; pamphlet, "Owen Rice," Capt. and Acting Major U. S. V.; four numbers of International Conciliation; four numbers from New York State Museum; Tenth Biennial Report, Historical Department of Iowa; Fifteenth Annual Report, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh; Acts and Proceedings of the State Federation of Historical Societies, 1911; the "Humberger School Association and Its School," by Cyrus Boger, from the Lebanon County Historical Society; latch of the Christiana Riot House, the gift of Mrs. H. C. Witmer, of this city; photograph of the Christiana Riot monument, from W. U. Hensel; five post cards from D. B. Landis—Old Trinity Church, Entrance to Gable's Park, Wabank road, Stand-pipe, Postlewait's, now Fehl's, near Millersville, Rotary and Station, Salunga; also through Mr. Landis, from Geo. W. Brown, city, two original papers concerning naturalization of Herman William Ville, dated 1827, Lancaster; Illustrated Chart with many historic cuts typi-

cal of Yorktown, 1781; several old booklets; Publications of Yale University.

On motion a vote of thanks was extended the donors.

The names of the following were presented for membership: Mrs. M. R. Cowell, the Henry G. Long Home; H. R. Fulton, Esq., Lancaster; Mrs. D. W. Noll, No. 451 East Orange street; Milton E. Gingrich, 24 East Walnut street; Dr. Henry G. Davis, No. 135 North Duke street; Charles Emory Long, No. 444 North Duke street; Mrs. Charles Emory Long, No. 444 North Duke street; Miss Josephine Franklin, No. 330 North Duke street; Dr. E. J. Stein, No. 234 North Duke street; Mrs. E. J. Stein, No. 234 North Duke street; C. Edgar Titzel, No. 614 West Chestnut street; Mrs. C. Edgar Titzel, No. 614 West Chestnut street; all of Lancaster.

Edwin Nevin Stump, of Marietta, was elected to membership.

The committee which had charge of the Christiana Riot celebration presented its report through Mr. H. Frank Eshleman. The report was accepted and a vote of thanks extended to the committee. On further motion the report was referred to the executive committee for publication.

The committee appointed at the September meeting on the preparation of supplemental matter on the slavery question reported progress, through Mr. Eshleman. A full report will be ready for the November meeting.

On motion the Yale University Library was ordered placed on the Society's exchange list.

The offer of the Minnesota Historical Society to purchase back numbers of the society's publications was accepted and the name of the Minnesota Society was ordered placed on the exchange list.

An invitation from the Kansas State Historical Society to attend the laying of the cornerstone of a memorial and historical building at Topeka, September 27, was received with thanks.

A letter from Rebecca Gorsuch Mitchell was read in which the writer expressed her thanks to the society for the presentation of the medal at the Christiana Riot celebration. On motion the secretary was instructed to express the society's thanks to her for the very appreciative letter and the latter was ordered preserved.

The death of Miss Eliza Diller, a member of the society, was announced by D. B. Landis.

On motion Miss Lottie M. Bausman, the assistant librarian, was ordered to contract for the erection of shelving for the Society's room on the third floor of the library building.

The Society accepted the offer of Miss Adelaide Spindler of a set of American Ethnological Reports and a vote of thanks extended to her.

On motion a vote of appreciation was extended the library building housekeeper for decorating the rooms with plants.

On motion it was decided to have an order drawn for the payment of Shoop's history, provided the librarian has not already paid the bill.

On motion adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THE SLAVERY QUESTION DURING THE TERMS OF
OFFICE OF JOHN WHITEHILL AND
ROBERT JENKINS, LANCASTER
COUNTY CONGRESSMEN.

THE WHITEHILLS AND ROBERT JENKINS IN
CONGRESS.

MINUTES OF NOVEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XV. NO. 9.

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1911.

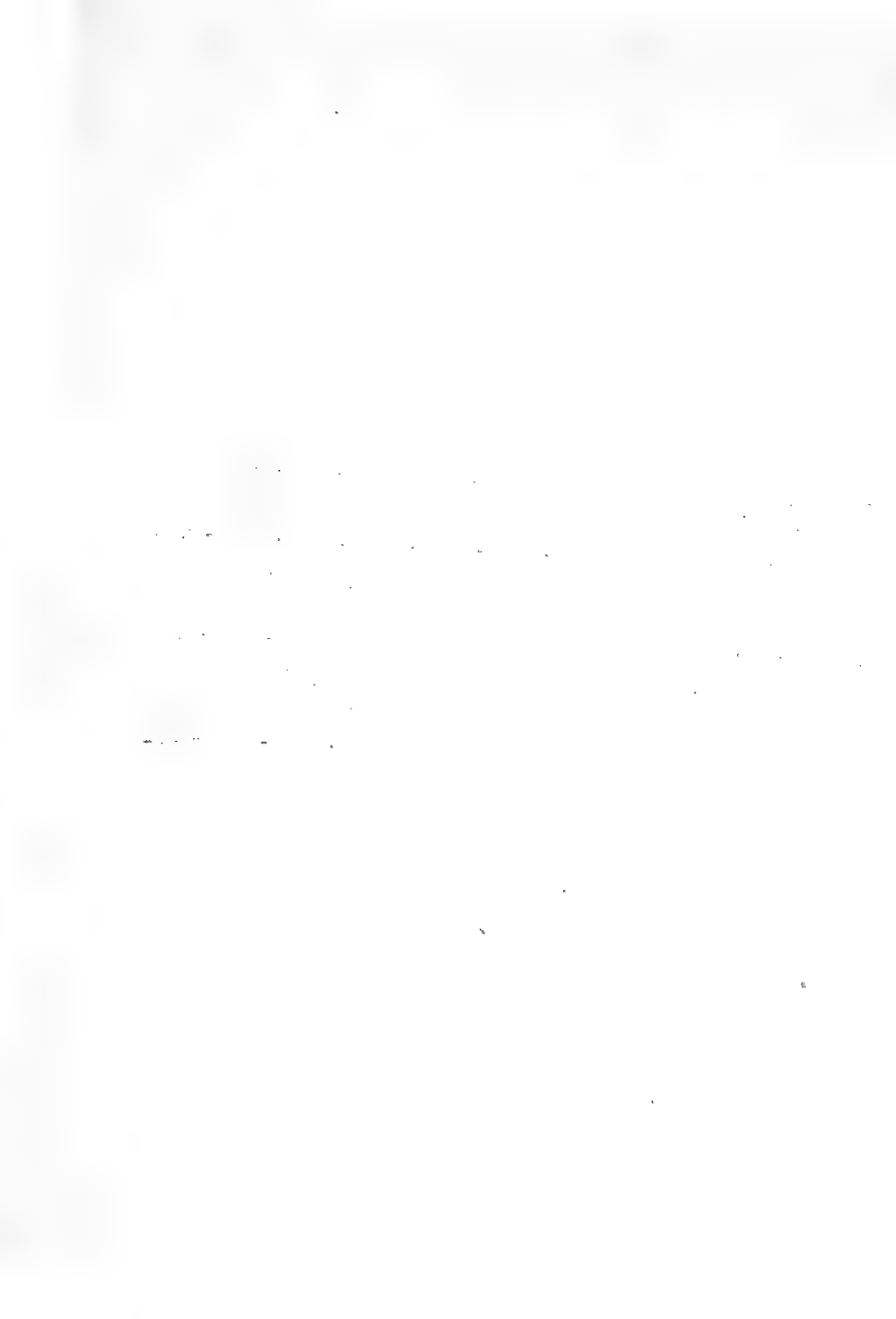
**The Slavery Question during the Terms of Office of John
Whitehill and Robert Jenkins, Congressmen from Lan-
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The Whitehills and Robert Jenkins in Congress - - 266

By MISS MARTHA B. CLARK.

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THE SLAVERY QUESTION

During the Terms of Office of John
Whitehill and Robert Jenkins, Con-
gressmen from Lancaster County
from 1803 to 1807 and 1807
to 1811, Respectively.

This paper is to consider the slavery situation at that period of time which included the twenty-year limit of the tolerance of the slave trade in our country, and the influence our town and county brought to bear on it through our Congressional representatives. It is my part in this work to give the historical setting, with the causes and effects incident, while the paper following mine will deal in detail with the biography of the men illustrating the period for us, who, by their influence and vote, assisted in the adjustment of the various phases of this situation as they occurred.

If we go back in fancy to these years, we find our town of Lancaster the largest inland city of the United States; we find it also the capital of the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. These facts, no doubt, added weight to the significance of our Representatives at this time, and augmented the silent and personal influence which accrues from large and important districts generally.

Twenty years previous to the year 1807 takes us back to the convention holding in Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation, but which, in reality, formulated the Constitu-

tion. During these debates, and their consequent heated arguments and violent opposition, the sectional differences of the North and South, which always existed to a considerable extent, became more pronounced.

How Slavery Arose in the Colonies.

The differences existed from the beginning. By a curious coincidence, incongruous as it seems, liberty and slavery had their birth on this soil in the same year, 1620 being the date of the arrival of the Pilgrim Fathers, as well as the distribution of the first negro slaves. Virginia, which was the cradle of independence, as was Massachusetts the cradle of Liberty and Pennsylvania the cradle of Fraternity, was that also of slavery. (Beverly's History of Virginia, page 35; Bancroft's History of the United States, volume 1, page 176). It is not definitely known whether the Spaniards introduced slavery into Florida before this time or not. Some historians think that this is the case. During the year 1621 the cotton plant was first introduced in Virginia (Bancroft, vol. 1, p. 179). This, together with the cultivation of tobacco, increased the demand for negroes, and both Virginia and Maryland became slave-holding States. New England early took up the slave traffic and availed herself of the cheap labor of the negro slaves. Massachusetts, in 1641, in her "fundamentals," or body of liberties, recognized the lawfulness of Indian and negro slavery, as well as of the African slave trade (Hildreth's History, p. 278). In Connecticut the proportion of slaves to freemen was greater than in Massachusetts. In 1650 Indians who failed to make satisfaction for injuries were ordered to be seized and delivered to the injured party, either to serve

themselves or to be shipped out and exchanged for negroes. Insolvent debtors also, as well as negroes, were made slaves in Connecticut. In Rhode Island, with the exception of Providence, slaves abounded to a greater extent than in any other portion of New England. In Providence, the home of Roger Williams, the services of the black and the white races were placed on the same footing and limitations (Cobb in Slavery, p. 158). Slavery was introduced into New Amsterdam as early as 1626 by the West India Company. Stuyvesant was urged to use every exertion to promote the sale of negroes. In 1750 the slaves of this colony constituted one-sixth of the population. The Quakers of our own colony held negro slaves, and it is believed that William Penn held slaves at the time of his death. In 1712 a general petition for the emancipation of slaves by law was presented to the Pennsylvania Legislature, to which the response was given, "It is neither just nor convenient to set them at liberty" (Bancroft, Vol. 2, p. 408). Negro slavery was found in Delaware as early as 1688. Although the colony was designed for free labor, and the citizens believed it was unlawful to buy or keep negro slaves, yet slavery was retained, and Delaware is ranked with the South among the slave-holding States. South Carolina held slaves from the beginning. Although many settlers of North Carolina were Quakers, this colony soon adopted slavery. Georgia was the only colony in which slavery was prohibited by law. This was not because of any benevolent feeling for the negro. Oglethorpe was Deputy Governor of the Royal African Company, and owned a plantation and slaves in South Carolina (Cobb on Slavery), but because

the colony of Georgia having been designed for the poor and destitute of the mother country, it was meant to stimulate the colonists to personal labor. Later, the plan did not work, and petitions were urged to abolish the law.

The Slavery Sentiment at the Time of the Constitutional Convention.

Various and decided changes of sentiment occurred as to slavery in the colonies as time progressed. None of the colonies favored the slave trade as it was carried on, and before the cotton gin was invented even South Carolina was speaking against it. With the invention of the cotton gin and the increased demand for cheap labor the sentiment in the South for slavery increased, and the slave trade was deemed absolutely essential to the prosperity of the South. In the North the sentiment against slavery (led by our own State of Pennsylvania as far back as 1688) increased daily and vehemently. Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and many others of the galaxy of statesmen who adorned that period had arrayed themselves strenuously against slavery, and especially the slave trade.

The Constitutional Convention.

This leaves the country at the time of the Constitutional Convention with seven free States and six slave States. Someone has said: "Threats of disunion preceded the Union," and this occurred in the Constitutional Convention, where, for the sake of peace and the preservation of the Union, the demands of the South were conceded, and, as the result of threats and compromises, though hotly contested, slavery was retained by a single vote and the period of the slave trade extended for twenty years. A

much more important step was formulated, however. When the two houses of Congress were established—the House of Representatives proportioned to the population, the Senate equal representation to the States—the first step toward the Civil War was taken. Seven free States had the great preponderance of representation in the House and the advantage of one State in the Senate. The South immediately saw the necessity of equalizing the number of States and electing the Vice President. In this way the South would control the Senate. In 1789 North Carolina passed an act ceding all her territory lying west of her present limits to the United States, “provided, always, that no regulations, made or to be made, by Congress, shall tend to emancipate slaves.” These conditions were accepted by Congress April 2, 1790. No report of the debate on the passage of the act exists. It was stormy, no doubt. North Carolina’s meaning was plain. Kentucky, in 1792, and Tennessee, in 1793, were admitted from this territory as slave States. To forestall this, Vermont was admitted as a free State in 1791, and we had eight slave and eight free States.

In 1802, April 2, Georgia ceded to the United States the territory lying west of her present limits, now the States of Mississippi and Alabama, provided “that the territory thus ceded shall become a State and be admitted into the Union as soon as it shall contain 60,000 free inhabitants, or at an earlier period, if Congress shall think it expedient, on the same conditions and restrictions, with the same privileges, and in the same manner, as provided in the ordinance of Congress of the 13th day of July 1787, for the government of the western territory of the United States;

which ordinance shall, in all its parts, extend to the territory contained in the present act of cession, the article only excepted which forbids slavery." This takes me beyond the period assigned to me, but it is interesting to watch the trend. Mississippi was admitted in 1817 and Alabama 1819. Meanwhile, Ohio was admitted in 1803, and the Indiana Territory organized, out of which Indiana in 1816 and Illinois in 1818 were admitted. Louisiana had been admitted in 1812, and this left the slave States and the free States equal once more, eleven to each account. The Louisiana Purchase was now to be disposed of, and the contest was on again. Maine was cut off from Massachusetts and admitted in 1820, and then the Missouri Compromise was passed and Missouri admitted as a slave State; but the status of slavery was settled forever in this direction. The South next looked toward Texas. The Mexican War was precipitated. Texas was admitted as a single slave State, though the South had hoped to carve it into four. When California was admitted as a free State from the territory which the South had so hoped to force into her own ranks, she recognized the death blow to the further extension of slavery, and her inability to cope in the Legislature for her terms as heretofore. It was then the South began to utter threats of disunion, and more than one prophetic statesman of the North, as well as the South, perceived the shadow of the coming tragic events casting before.

The Legislature in Which John Whitehill Figured.

To go back to my period will bring us to the Congress which was debating the petition from the Indiana Territory as to whether the sixth ar-

ticle of the ordinance of 1787, which prohibited slavery within her territory, should be suspended for ten years. The memorial was referred to a committee and a report unfavorable to the plea was recommended by the committee. The report, coming at the end of the session, was referred to a new committee at the next session of Congress. This committee brought a report favorable to the memorial, but there was no action taken. The memorial to the same effect was presented at each succeeding Congress until 1807, when that committee reported: "Resolved, That it is not expedient at this time to suspend the sixth article of compact for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio."

In the session of 1804-5, a memorial was presented to Congress by the annual convention of delegates from the State societies for promoting the abolition of slavery and improving the condition of the African race, then meeting in Philadelphia, to prohibit the further importation of slaves into the newly-acquired region of Louisiana. The memorial was referred to the committee on the government of Louisiana, and a provision was inserted into the act authorizing the Territory of New Orleans, that no slaves should be carried to said Territory except from some part of the United States by citizens removing to the Territory as actual settlers. This memorial had in view the act of South Carolina reviving the African slave trade after a suspension of it, since the law imposing a tax of ten dollars (Article I, Section 9, Constitution) had been passed. The act of South Carolina was taken up by the House, and Bard, of Pennsylvania, introduced a resolution imposing the tax of \$10 on each slave

imported. Lowndes, of South Carolina, apologized for his State. He said it was an impossibility to enforce the prohibition, as the people did it in defiance of the law, and the law was repealed in order to remove the spectacle of the daily violation of the law, but he thought the imposing of the tax was unjust. There was considerable discussion, in which Bard, Lucas and Smilie, of Pennsylvania, made eloquent speeches. Nothing was done in the matter at this session, but the subject was opened in the next session when South Carolina accused Rhode Island of furnishing the ships, and of encouraging the trade in other ways. The subject was passed over to the next session, when the time was at hand to abolish the slave trade altogether by constitutional statute.

The Abolition of the Slave Trade.

The message of President Jefferson, communicated on Tuesday, December 2, 1806, being the second session, reads in part:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled: I congratulate you, fellow citizens, on the approach of the period at which you may interpose your authority, constitutionally, to withdraw the citizens of the United States from all further participation in these violations of human rights which have been so long continued on the inoffending inhabitants of Africa, and which the morality, the reputation, and the best interests of our country have long been eager to proscribe. Although no law you may pass can take prohibitory effect until the first day of the year 1808, yet the intervening period is not too long to prevent, by timely notice, expeditions which can-

not to be completed before that day." (Executive paper No. 25, of the President's messages, Ninth Congress, second session).

On the next day, December 3, this portion of the message was referred to a select committee of the House, consisting of Messrs. Early, of Georgia (chairman); T. M. Randolph, of Virginia; J. Campbell, of Maryland; Thomas Kenan, of North Carolina; Cook, of Massachusetts; Kelly, of Pennsylvania, and Van Ransellaer, of New York. This time the bill was not allowed to lay over. On the 15th of December the committee reported. The original report provided that "all negroes, mulattoes and persons of color illegally introduced should be forfeited and sold for life for the benefit of the United States." This aroused violent opposition, participated in by Sloan, of New Jersey (who proposed an amendment to substitute "shall be entitled to his or her freedom" instead of the "death penalty"). Macon, the Speaker of the House; Smilie, of Pennsylvania; Pitkin, of Connecticut, debated earnestly and to some extent. A movement was made and passed to recommit the bill. When it was presented again the same opposition was urged against "forfeiture;" however, the bill carried as it stood 63 to 36. John Whitehill voted in its favor. The debate then turned on the punishment to be inflicted on the masters and owners of vessels engaged in the slave trade, a provision in the bill having offered death as one penalty. This part of the bill again was hotly contested. Imprisonment instead of death was offered as an amendment, and this substitution carried by a vote of 63 to 52, Whitehill voting with the minority, favoring death as the penalty instead of imprisonment. The bill was

engrossed, and the question arose on its passage, when the Northern members seemed to recollect that the bill as it stood, viz., forfeiting the slaves imported and putting the proceeds into the public treasury, sanctioned slavery and cast a stain on the national character. In order to devise some other plan it was moved to recommit the bill to a committee of seventeen, one from each State. This motion was carried 76 to 49, Whitehill voting in its favor. The bill now, as reported by the committee of seventeen, was debated and amended and passed by a vote of 113 to 5, and was sent back to the Senate. Here other troubles arose which refused to adjust, and a committee of conference was appointed. Finally, the report of the committee of conference was agreed to, 63 to 49. John Whitehill voted for its passage. During these debates several heated remarks were made by Southerners, showing the trend of Southern sentiment. At one time they declared they "would resist this with their lives." John Randolph said at another time: "If the bill passed as it stood the Southern people would set the act at defiance. I would set the first example." At another time he said the bill would result in total emancipation in future years, and he would not agree to it. It would blow the Constitution into ruins and this Union would disunite; that the slave States would secede from the Union.

The act as finally passed imposed a fine of \$20,000 upon all persons concerned in fitting out any vessel for the slave trade, with the forfeiture of the vessel; likewise a fine of \$5,000, with forfeiture also of the vessel, for taking on board any negro, mulatto or person of color in any foreign country, with the purpose of selling such person within the jurisdiction of the

United States as a slave. For transporting from any foreign country and selling as a slave or holding to service or labor within the United States any such person as above described the penalty was imprisonment for not less than five nor more than ten years, with a fine not exceeding \$10,000 nor less than \$1,000. The purchaser, if cognizant of the facts, was also liable to a fine of \$800 for every person so purchased. Neither the importer nor the purchaser was to hold any right or title to such person, or to his or her service or labor; but all such persons were to remain subject to any regulations for their disposal, not contrary to the provisions of this act, which might be made by the respective States and Territories. Coasting vessels transporting slaves from one State to another were to have the name, age, sex and description of such slaves, with the names of the owners, inserted in their manifests, and certified also by the officers of the port of departure; which manifests, before landing any of the slaves, were to be exhibited and sworn to before the officer of the port of arrival, under pain of forfeiture of the vessel and a fine of \$1,000 for each slave as to whom these formalities might be omitted. No vessel of less than forty tons burden was to take any slaves on board except for transportation on the inland bays and rivers of the United States; and any vessel found hovering on the coast with slaves on board, in contravention of this act, was liable to seizure and condemnation, for which purpose the President was authorized to employ the ships of the navy, half the proceeds of the captured vessels and their cargoes to go to the captors. The masters of vessels so seized were liable to a fine of \$10,000 and impris-

onment for not less than two nor more than four years. The negroes found on board were to be delivered to such persons as the States might respectively appoint to receive them, or, in default of such appointment, to the overseers of the poor of the place to which they might be brought; and if, under State regulations, they should be "sold or disposed of." The penalties of this act upon the seller and purchaser were not to attach in such cases.

This was the stormy period which John Whitenill helped to weather. There are no speeches accredited to him, but the influence of the man, the results that were accomplished, the reduction of slavery in the district which he represented during his terms of office, all speak of the silent influence, quietly but firmly exerted, to accomplish a determined purpose.

During the official terms of Robert Jenkins slavery did not hold the prominent place that it did in his predecessors' time. The great topic of his day was the approaching of other troubles, in which he took his part with the vigor, intelligence and firmness which characterized him personally.

There are two entries of interest in the Congressional Records that appear while Jenkins was Representative. They both occurred at the beginning of his term. Mr. Randolph, from the committee appointed on the 11th inst., presented a bill to explain the act entitled "An act to prohibit the importation of slaves into any port or place within the jurisdiction of the United States from and after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord, 1808," which was read twice and committed to a committee of the whole on Monday following. This closed the work of the Congress in

respect to the act of prohibition of the slave trade. A final incident directly concerned, however, occurred when on December 30, 1807, a petition from sundry merchants of Charleston, S. C., importers of slaves, was presented and read, in which they stated that many vessels had cleared out from thence for the purpose of importing slaves before the law was passed by Congress prohibiting the importation of slaves, and some had cleared out immediately after the passing of the law and had been detained by accident beyond the time limited by law. They prayed that a law might be passed affording them relief.

The question being put on a motion made by Mr. Marion for a reference of this petition to the Committee of Commerce and Manufactures, the motion for reference was negatived, yeas 37, nays 39. It does not appear how Jenkins voted in this instance. Later, there were evasions of this law, which caused much trouble to the Government and had to be summarily dealt with.

THE WHITEHILLS AND ROBERT JENKINS IN CONGRESS

James Whitehill, the pioneer ancestor of this family of prominence, settled in Salisbury township, on Pequea creek, a short distance from its source and near the Pequea Presbyterian Church, about two miles from the Old Road and in provincial times called the "King's Highway," in the year 1723. His name appears on the assessment list for the year 1724. Warrants for 700 acres of land were granted to him in the years 1723, 1724 and 1743. Some of this land lay on what was then known as Whitehill's run, now Henderson's run. He also owned land in Cumberland county. In 1736 he was chosen assessor, the board of assessors and County Commissioners constituting what was called in provincial times the County Board. He was elected County Commissioner for the years 1739-41, and appointed justice of the peace, serving for the years 1736, 1737, 1741, 1745, 1749 and 1752.

James Whitehill was born February 1, 1700, in Ireland. He was married twice, but his first wife's name is not known. He married, secondly, Rachel Creswell, who died on the 29th of June, 1795. James Whitehill died February 2, 1766. They were buried in Pequea Presbyterian Churchyard.

John Whitehill, a Congressman.

The son of James Whitehill, the pioneer, was born December 11, 1729, in Salisbury township, Lancaster

county. He married August 13, 1755, Ann Sanderson. John Whitehill was a zealous patriot, and was prominent in serving on committees at the time of the Revolution, holding many positions of trust, viz.: Appointed Justice of the Peace November 3, 1779; on a committee for inquiring into the state of the Pennsylvania Treasury, February 9, 1780; a member of the Council of Censors, October 20, 1783. This so-called Council of Censors constituted the recognized legal check on the executive and legislative branches of the Government, and in it alone was vested the means whereby the Constitution could be amended or altered.

This Council was to be elected once in seven years by the people, each county and city to be represented by two councillors. It was to exist and have power one year from the date of its election, and no longer. It was a feature of the Constitution of Pennsylvania from 1776 to 1790, and of that of Vermont from 1777 to 1869. (Pennsylvania Magazine, October, 1898, page 266.) He was a delegate sent to the Supreme Executive Council, December 23, 1784, succeeding Samuel John Atlee on the Board of Pardons, October 3, 1785, and August 6, 1787; a Councillor December 22, 1784, and commissioned Associate Judge, August 7, 1791. John Whitehill took his seat as a member of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States on the first Monday of December, 1803, and remained there as a member until 1807. He belonged to the Jeffersonian school of statesmen.

In Pennsylvania, the opposition to the adoption of the Constitution came chiefly from some Presbyterians. In 1787 the anti-Federalists in the Pennsylvania Convention had for

their leaders in the debate the three Scotch-Presbyterians, Whitehill, Finley and Smilie, who came from Cumberland, Fayette and Westmoreland. The Federalists also looked for leadership in the Scotch-Presbyterians, viz.: Wilson and McLean; and when the final vote was taken among the nays were the names of John Whitehill and Robert Whitehill, his brother (from Scotch-Irish by Hanna, pp. 35 and 36).

John Whitehill was a trustee and elder in the Pequea Presbyterian Church. In a record of the session dated June 6, 1806, the elders present were: Amos Slaymaker, James Grier, William Brisbin and John Whitehill. His tombstone in this old God's acre bears the following inscription: "In memory of John Whitehill, died September 16, 1815, aged eighty-five years;" and beside him we find: "Here lyeth what was mortal of Ann, the wife of John Whitehill, died December 25, 1805, in the 71st year of her age."

James Whitehill, a Congressman (from 1813-1814).

This son of John Whitehill was born February 1, 1762, and died February 26, 1822, in the town of Strasburg, Lancaster county, where he established a business, having moved from Salisbury township. He married Elizabeth Bickham, October 9, 1792, and she died February 7, 1867. James Whitehill was commissioned an Associate Judge, January 3, 1811, but, having been elected to Congress in 1812, resigned the office the first of February, 1813. A second commission as Judge was granted to him on October 17, 1820. He was honored as his father had been, and represented his native county in Congress from 1813 to 1814, and he resigned in 1814. In

the roll of Pennsylvania Volunteers in the War of 1812-1814, we find a record of James Whitehill as Major General in Division No. 4. Mr. Whitehill is buried in Leacock Presbyterian Churchyard. Mrs. Jane E. Slaymaker and her son, Harry C. Slaymaker, members of the Historical Society, are descended from the pioneer James Whitehill by his first marriage.

**Robert Whitehill, Congressman From
Cumberland County From
1805 to 1813.**

Robert Whitehill, the brother of John Whitehill, was born July 24, 1735, in Salisbury township, Lancaster county. In 1772 he removed to Cumberland county. In 1779 he represented that county in the Supreme Executive Council, and in the year 1794 was elected to the General Assembly. He was sent to Congress in 1805 from Cumberland county, serving the same time his brother, John, represented Lancaster county. He died on April 8, 1813, when in office, in East Pennsboro township, Cumberland county. Robert Whitehill was also one of the commissioners to examine the Susquehanna river, with the hope that it could be made navigable. Mr. Whitehill's speeches when in public life, it is said, "displayed more than ordinary elocutionary powers." He married Eleanor Reed, daughter of Adam Reed, Esq., of Hanover township, Cumberland county. She and her husband are both buried in Silver Spring Presbyterian churchyard.

WHO WAS ROBERT JENKINS, THE CONGRESSMAN FROM LAN- CASTER COUNTY IN 1807-1811?

The great-grandfather of Robert Jenkins was David Jenkins. He came from Wales, and settled about the year 1700 near the Great Valley Church. This is the oldest Presbyterian Church in Chester county, where a congregation was organized in 1714.

The members of this church were largely composed of settlers from Wales, and there were also mingled with them the Scotch-Irish and English, when a church was built in 1720. Among the original settlers of Caernarvon township, near Churchtown, was John Jenkins. He came to the Conestoga Valley in 1733 and purchased 400 acres of land from John Thomas and Richard Penn, the proprietaries. A portion of this land he sold to William Branson and Lynford Lardner, Esqs., who took out a patent December 28, 1742, and erected on it the lower Windsor Forge and the Mansion House, and named the place "Windsor, after the King of England's palace." Thirty years later, David, the son of John Jenkins, purchased this plant, and the Windsor Forges remained in the Jenkins family until 1850. David Jenkins was born July 2, 1731, and married Martha Armor, daughter of Robert Armor, one of the early settlers of Salisbury township. Martha Armor was born in 1739 and died April 9, 1802. David Jenkins had three sons. Robert became an iron master, William a lawyer, and David a farmer. In the Archives of Pennsylvania his name appears in various ways, showing a true patriotic spirit—as a member of the Provincial Convention, held in Philadelphia, in 1775

and 1776; as a member of the committee on December 16, 1777, appointed to take subscriptions for the Continental Loan, and again on a committee to collect clothing for the soldiers. On December 6, 1777, and 1778, we find him holding the responsible and honorable position of Colonel of the Tenth Battalion of Lancaster County Militia. David Jenkins died June 27, 1797.

Robert Jenkins.

In the Caernarvon Presbyterian Churchyard, Churchtown, on a handsome monument is the following inscription:

ROBERT JENKINS,
Great Grandson of David Jenkins,
Who Emigrated From Wales About
the Year 1700.

Grandson of John Jenkins,
Original Proprietor of Windsor,
Son of David and Martha Jenkins,
Born at Windsor,, July 10, 1769,
Departed This Life April 18, 1848.

Robert Jenkins represented Lancaster county in the Legislature in the years 1804 and 1805, and was again honored by the citizens of this Congressional District, by sending him to represent them from the years 1807 to 1811 in Washington.

During the "Whisky Insurrection" in Pennsylvania, when a young man, he was a member of a Troop of Horse and took an active part in the field against the insurrectionists.

Robert Jenkins married Catharine Carmichael in September, 1799, who was born July 23, 1774, and died September 23, 1856. In a tribute to her memory by the pastor, the Rev. John Leaman, he said: "Inheriting from her father and more distant ancestors the blessings of the Covenant,

God, in answer to their prayers, set her apart in early faith for Himself."

Her father, the Rev. John Carmichael, born in the Highlands of Scotland, October 17, 1728, and died on the 15th day of November, 1785. He was distinguished for his love for his adopted land, and aided whenever an opportunity presented itself in the Revolutionary War. He preached to the soldiers and encouraged them with the hope that God was with them.

In his diary, under date of 1775, we find the following record: "I was this summer called to preach in the borough of Lancaster. The militia of the town requested me to preach a military sermon; accordingly, I endeavored to prove defensive war lawful, both from reason and Scripture. The gentlemen requested a copy of my sermon for the press, which I granted. It was reprinted in Philadelphia. I desire to give God all the glory, if he enables me to give, even a mite, as an offering to aid the great American cause against tyranny and wicked usurpation."

Mr. and Mrs. Jenkins had six daughters and two sons. Mrs. John Nevin, so affectionably remembered in Lancaster, was a daughter. She was the mother of Miss Alice Nevin and her sister, Blanche, who lives in the Mansion House at Windsor Forges, having purchased this home of her ancestors some few years ago. Robert Jenkins succeeded his father in the management of his business, having bequeathed to him three thousand acres of land in the vicinity of Churchtown, including Windsor Place, and continued with much success until his death, in 1848, a period of fifty years.

William Jenkins, the brother of

Robert Jenkins, was born at Windsor Place on the 7th of July, 1779, and died May 24, 1853. He was a prominent lawyer of Lancaster, and admitted to the Bar on the 10th of August, 1801. Mr. Jenkins was elected on May 16, 1815, President of the Farmers' Bank, of Lancaster. He filled the office of Prosecuting Attorney for Lancaster county, being appointed in 1817. He was also Recorder of the Mayor's Court from 1848 and 1849. He married Mary Hubley, daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel Adam Hubley, of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Battalion of the Continental Army, February 13, 1777; and also one of the original subscribers of the Society of the Cincinnati of the Pennsylvania Line, 1783.

MINUTES OF NOVEMBER MEETING.

Lancaster, Pa., Nov. 3, 1911.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting this evening in the Smith free library building. In the absence of the president, Mr. Steinman, Mr. F. R. Diffenderffer, one of the vice presidents presided.

The report of the acting librarian, Miss Bausman, showed the following contributions since the last meeting, the list including ninety-four bound volumes:

Sixty-nine Pennsylvania Archives, from Mrs. O. H. Atlee; 18 State Reports, from State Library, Harrisburg; Calendar of Papers of Martin Van Buren, from Library of Congress; Annual Report, 1909, of the American Historical Association; The Railway Library for 1910; Report, 1909-1910, of the Kansas State Historical Society; The Larimer, McMasters and Allied Families, from Mrs. James R. Mellon, Pittsburgh; Atlas by M. Lavoisne, 1821, and American Atlas (companion to above, 1823), from Mr. F. H. Breneman; large number of pamphlets, including German American Annals, The Pennsylvania-German, Proceedings of Cambridge Historical Society, Proceedings of American Jewish Historical Society, two publications from Yale University; 38 pamphlets of Lancaster County Historical Society from Mrs. P. A. Metzger; 12 pamphlets of Wyoming

Commemorative Association and Scotch-Irish Bibliography of Pennsylvania, from E. Boyd Weitzel; a Tribute to Memory of Catharine M. Jenkins, of Windsor Place, Lancaster county, by Rev. John Leaman, from Mrs. S. J. Timlow, through Rev. D. R. Workman; Taylor's Medical, Chemical, Agricultural and Family Receipts, published by W. G. Taylor, Lancaster, March 1, 1838, from Francis L. Calder; Grants of Land by John and Thomas Penn to Elizabeth Buchanan, John Devorn and William Phillips, from W. U. Hensel; two pictures, homestead of Peter Elser, 1770, stone used in hemp rolling mill, by Mr. Elser, presented by F. E. Schnerer.

A vote of thanks was extended the donors, special reference being made to the contributions of Mrs. O. H. Atlee, F. H. Breneman, Mrs. P. A. Metzger and F. L. Calder.

The name of Adam F. Spangler was presented for membership, and the following were elected: Mrs. M. R. Cowell, H. R. Fulton, Esq., Milton E. Gingrich, Mrs. D. W. Noll, Dr. Henry G. Davis, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Emory Long, Miss Josephine Franklin, Dr. E. J. Stein and wife, Mr. and Mrs. C. Edgar Titzel.

On motion, the secretary was directed to draw an order for \$32 for the payment of the shelving erected in the society's room, and another order for \$25 was ordered drawn, the money to be devoted to the uses of the librarian.

Miss Bausman, the acting librarian, made an appeal to the members for pamphlets of the society in order to complete a number of sets.

The committee on supplementary matter on the slavery question, with especial reference to the part taken

by Lancaster county Congressmen, was presented through Mr. Eshleman, who stated that Miss Adeline B. Spindler and Miss Martha B. Clark would both contribute papers on the subject. The report stated that Dr. Buehrle and Mr. A. K. Hostetter would contribute matter for the December meeting.

Miss Spindler had as her subject "The Slavery Question During the Terms of Office of John Whitehill and Robert Jenkins, Congressmen from Lancaster county, from 1803 to 1807 and 1807 to 1811, Respectively." It was read by the author. Miss Clark's paper was treated under three headings, "Three Whitehills in Congress from 1803 to 1814;" "John and James Whitehill, of Lancaster County, and Robert Whitehill, of Cumberland County;" "Robert Jenkins in Congress from 1807 to 1811."

After a discussion of the papers the society adjourned.

PAPERS READ

BEFORE THE

LANCASTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1911.

"History herself, as seen in her own workshop."

THADDEUS STEVENS' ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE
OMNIBUS BILL.

THE NEWSPAPERS ON THE CHRISTIANA RIOT.

MINUTES OF DECEMBER MEETING.

VOL. XV. NO. 10.

PRICE TWENTY-FIVE CENTS PER COPY. .

LANCASTER, PA.
1911.

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THADDEUS STEVENS' ATTITUDE TOWARD THE OMNIBUS BILL

In deference to the writer and at his special request this paper appears in the spelling recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board:

Quotations showing that slavery was regarded as a divine institution, and that negroes were to be kept in everlasting bondage in fulfilment of the curs pronounced on Canaan:

"It is a fearful abuse of God's word when men refer to the curs of Canaan in defence of American slave-traffic, and slave-holding, as is done in the Southern portions of the United States."—Lange's Commentary on Gen., p. 342, first column.

"I do not propose to discuss the justice or injustice of slavery as an abstract proposition.....It is enough for me elsewhere to know that it was established by decree of Almighty God, that it is sanctioned in the Bible in both Testaments from Genesis to Revelation."—Jefferson Davis in U. S. Senate, February 13, 1850.

"He (the negro) by nature or by the curs of Canaan is fitted for that condition which he occupies in our system."—A. H. Stevens, 1861.

"Indeed, it would scarcely excite surprise if with the impious audacity of those who projected the tower of Babel they (the abolitionists) should attempt to scale the battlements of heaven and remonstrate with the God of wisdom for having put the mark of Cain and the curs of Ham upon the

African race insted of the European.”
—Gov. McDuffie of S. Car., Message,
1835.

The Attitude of Buchanan On the Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

“That senator (Mr. Buchanan) presented from the people of his own State a petition for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. He presented it as a matter of respect to those who had enclosed it to him, but he moved that it be rejected, and made a speech in favor of its rejection.”—Jefferson Davis, in United States Senate, February 13, 1850.

Preliminary Remarks in Extenuation of the Imperfections of the Paper.

The Hon. James Bryce, in his History of the Holy Roman Empire, p. 50, says: “The interest of history lies not least in this, that it shows us how men hav at different times entertain- el holely different notions respecting the relation to one another of the same ideas or the same institutions.”

Dr. Arnold, in the preface to his great history of Rome, says: “I am wel aware of the great difficulty of giving liveliness to a narrativ which necessarily gets all its facts at second hand. . . . One who is himself a statesman and orator may relate the political contests even of remote ages with sumthing of the spirit of a contemporary; for his own experience realizes to him in a great mezure the scenes and the characters which he is describing.”

It is, therefore, to be expected that the account which will be given of the Great Commoner's part in the strenuous Congressional contest over the Omnibus Bil by one who has stood aloof from political activity will lack

the vividness in presentation of one who participated in those struggles and witnessed those exciting scenes in the national capital—the preludes of the Civil War.

THADDEUS STEVENS' ATTITUDE TOWARD OMNIBUS BIL.

The first and essential qualification of the historian is truthfulness. The omission or suppression of the disagreeable is as inadmissible as the addition or interpolation of the agreeable. The witness before the world as well as before the court of justice must tell the whole truth, but to speak the whole truth concerning Thaddeus Stevens in this community requires some courage; for he has become almost a saint in the eyes of that people whose emancipation he advocated with all his heart and all his mental powers; and as the successful obstructionist whose great oration is believed to have turned the tide and consequently to have prevented the repeal of the law on which is based and out of which has grown our present magnificent system of public instruction, he stands deservedly high in the estimation of all friends of universal education. His name has indeed almost become a synonym for education, liberation and political equality and educational institutions in cities and towns are proud to bear the name of Thaddeus Stevens.

The subject assigned to me is limited to a single act of the 31st session of Congress, 1849-50, to the beginning of the career of Thaddeus Stevens as a member of the national house of representatives. Moreover, I am not to duplicate what has been presented by Mr. Atlee in his paper on Stevens and slavery. It should be remembered that the great controversy of the time was carried on chiefly in the Senate where Calhoun and Jefferson

Davis spoke for the South, Clay and Benton for the Border States and Webster and Seward for the North-east.

"The Senate, February 5th and 6th, proceeded to the consideration of the following Resolutions, submitted by Mr. Clay on the 29th of January:"

**Senator Clay's Resolutions, Also Called
The Omnibus Bil.**

"It being desirable for the peace, concord and harmony of the union of these states, to settle and adjust amicably all existing questions of controversy between them, arising out of the institution of slavery, upon a fair, equitable, and just basis:

"Therefore: 1st Resolved, That California, with suitable boundaries, ought upon her application to be admitted as one of the States of this Union, without the imposition by Congress of any restriction in respect to the exclusion or introduction of slavery within those boundaries.

2d. Resolved, That as slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any of the territory acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law either for its introduction into or exclusion from any part of the said territory; and that appropriate territorial governments ought to be established by Congress in all of the said territory not assigned as the boundaries of the proposed State of California, without the adoption of any restriction or condition on the subject of slavery.

3d. Resolved, That the western boundary of the State of Texas ought to be fixed on the Rio del Norte commencing one marine league from its mouth, and running up that river to the southern line of New Mexico;

thence with that line eastwardly, and so continuing in the same direction to the line as established between the United States and Spain, excluding any portion of New Mexico, whether lying on the east or west of that river.

4th. Resolved, That it be proposed to the state of Texas that the United States will provide for the payment of all that portion of the legitimate and bona fide public debt of that State contracted prior to its annexation to the United States and for which the duties on foreign imports were pledged by the said State to its creditors, not exceeding the sum of \$—, in consideration of the said duties so pledged having been no longer applicable to that object after the said annexation, but having thenceforward become payable to the United States; and upon the condition also that the said State of Texas shall, by some solemn and authentic act of her legislature, or of a convention, relinquish to the United States any claim which it has to any part of New Mexico.

5th. Resolved, That it is inexpedient to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, while that institution continues to exist in the State of Maryland, without the consent of that State, without the consent of the people of the District and without just compensation to the owners of the slaves within the District.

6th. But Resolved, That it is expedient to prohibit within the District the slave trade in slaves brought into it from States or places beyond the limits of the District either to be sold therein as merchandise or to be transported to other markets without the District of Columbia.

7th. Resolved, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law according to the requirement of the

constitution for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor in any State who may escape into any other State or Territory in the Union.

And 8th. Resolved, That Congress has no power to prohibit or obstruct the trade in slaves between the slaveholding States, but the admission or exclusion of slaves brought from one into another of them depends exclusively upon their own particular laws. —App. to Cong. Globe, part I, p. 115—31st Congress 1849-50.

These are the resolutions which President Taylor hapily denominated the Omnibus Bill, as being intended to satisfy, as far as conditions then permitted, all parts of the country. As a whole, they wer not adopted, but severally and substantially they wer enacted into law. Mr. Stevens did not await their arrival in the Hous, but on the 20th of February, the Hous being in Committee of the Hole on the State of the Union, on the reference of the President's message, he made a violent attack on slavery in general and on the return of fugitiv slaves in particular. As this subject was assigned to and treated by Mr. Atlee, it can find no place here.

On the tenth of June he made another and even fiercer attack on the peculiar institution, but this has also received attention in Mr. Atlee's paper, which forbids attention to be given to it here. To one thing, I may, however, be allowed to call attention: it is this, that in both speeches Mr. Stevens always castigates his Southern opponents with more consideration than those from the North.

A Democratic Colleg's Reply to Thad. Stevens' First Speech On the Subject of Slavery in the District of Columbia.

An extract from the speech of Mr. Ross, the member from Bucks county, in reply to Stevens, and the latter's rejoinder in the beginning of his second speech, will abundantly illustrate this.

"Sir, if my colleg (Mr. Stevens) when he addrest the committee, had raisd his eyes to the portrait of Washington frowning at his ignobl attempt to excite one section of the union agenst the other; or, if the hart of that member had throbd with even one patriotic impuls, he would hav shrunk back to his seat coverd with shame and remors for his libel upon the government of his cuntry. Sir, I envy not the feelings of any one who can rise in his place, and in a deliberately prepared speech, pronounce the government of his cuntry a despotism. I envy not the man who can thus defame the memories of Washington, and Franklin and Madison and of the other sages and patriots of the Revolution by whom this constitution was formd. No, sir, I envy no such man, and I would leav him alone in his shame if a sens of duty did not require me to notis sum other passages of that most extraordinary speech. In refering to the cours of the South that member has dared to speak of his Democratic colleags in the following indecent and insulting language:

"You have more than once frightened the tame North from its propriety, and found "doughfaces" enuf to be your tools. And when you lackt a given number, I take no pride in saying, you wer sure to find them in old Pennsylvania who (which?) in former years has rankt a portion of her delegation among your most submissiv

slaves. But I hope with sum fears that the race of "doughfaces" is extinct. I do not see how it could wel be otherwise. They wer an unmanly, an unviril race, incapabl, according to the laws of nature, of reproduction. I hope they hav left no descendants. The old ones ar deep in their graves. For them, I am sure, ther is no resurrection for they were soulles."

But he even went stil further, and denounced every northern man who did not vote for the slavery restriction 'as a traitor to liberty and recreant to his God.' Sir, I may wel ask whether this is the representativ hall of the nation! whether we ar the fre representativs of a fre peple, or the "submissiv slaves" which my colleag has charged that we ar? for surely, language so offensiv, and impudence so unblushing hav never heretofore been seen or herd in any respectabl assemblage of men. I know, Sir, that it should be treated with the scorn and contemt which every honorabl mind must feel for its author. It is an old proverb and as tru as it is old that the bad tung of a bad man can defame no one. Pennsylvania knows that member. With deep humiliation she acknowledges the acquaintance. His history has been the history of her wrongs and her misfortunes. But, sir, the memories of the past hav long since placed an impassabl gulf between him and her. She has affixt a brand upon him, as deep and as indelibl as the wrongs which she sufferd at his hands wer grievous and intolerabl. Yes, Sir, the day of mischief ther has past and the Democracy of Pennsylvania may wel laugh to scorn his vulgar, indecent and unmanly abuse not only of her own representativs, but of her southern brethren also. In a mind constituted as is that member's, no dout sum apology may be found

for this extraordinary speech. If, Sir, I had ever been an applicant for high office under the General Government, and had been defeated by the South with equal bitterness. [The office of Speaker]; if, sir, I were so degraded in feeling as to desire to raise the negro to social and political equality with the white man, perhaps I too might denounce the slaveholder as recreant to his God. If, Sir, I were so insensible of the dignity of my position and so lost to all sense of propriety as to be regardless of what was due to my colleagues and to this House, perhaps, I too might stigmatize as doughfaces every one who did not think as I thought and vote as I voted. Or, if, Sir, I had been on any occasion a traitor to liberty, and had, by force of arms, endeavored to treat an election as if it had never taken place (the Buckshot war), perhaps I too might denounce as traitors every northern Representative who stood by the constitution of his country. But, sir, there is one thing I could not do; I could not rise in my place, and utter these sentiments, just after I had voted for a slave holder for President (Zach. Taylor was a slave holder. He was the Whig candidate), in preference to another candidate who was born, educated, and lived on free soil (Lewis Cass, the Democratic candidate); and in preference to another candidate who was the embodiment of the principles which I professed (Van Buren, the Free Soil candidate). Nor, Sir, could I rise in my place and so defame the character of good old Democratic Pennsylvania as to represent that she participated in any such sentiments.....No, Sir, Pennsylvania entertains no such sentiments or feelings.....No son of hers, who had been born upon her soil, and had breathed in early life her pure mountain air, would have given

utterance to such sentiments, etc." We will now listen to an extract from the speech of Mr. Stevens on the 10 of June, a rejoinder to the replies made to his first speech:

"I do not remember one of the numerous gentlemen who have referred to my remarks who has attempted to deny one of the facts, or refute one of the arguments; they have noticed them merely to vituperate their author. To such remarks there can be no reply by him who is not willing to place himself on a level with blackguards. I cannot enter that arena. I will leave the filth and the slime of Billingsgate to the fishwomen and to their worthy coadjutors, the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Millson), from N. Carolina (Mr. Stanly), from Kentucky (Mr. Stanton), from Tennessee (Mr. Williams), and all that tribe. With them I can have no controversy. When I want to combat with such opponents and such weapons I can find them any day by entering the fish market without defiling this hall.

I beg those respectable fishladies however to understand that I do not include my colleague from Bucks county among those whom I deem fit to be their associates. I would not so degrade them.

"There is in the natural world, a little, spotted, contemptible animal which is armed by nature with a fetid, volatile, penetrating virus, which so pollutes whoever attacks it, as to make him offensive to himself and all around him for a long time. Indeed, he is almost incapable of purification. Nothing, Sir, no insult shall provoke me to crush so filthy a beast."

In his first speech made Feb. 20th, 1850, he had given utterance with no uncertain sound as to how he would regard northern members who should vote to permit the extension of sla-

very or its possibl introduction into the recently acquired territory. He said: "Sir, for myself, I should look upon any northern man, enlightened by a northern education, who would directly or indirectly, by omission or commission, by basely voting or skulking, permit it (slavery) to spread over one rood of God's fre erth as a traitor to liberty and recreant to his God."

The frends of Mr. Stevens cannot but wish that his language had not been such as, to sum extent, at least, if not entirely, to justify "The Intelligencer" of March 5, 1850, saying "That he was the same bold, reckless demagog that he ever was." "He mostly abused the southern peple." That southern members regarded his language as vulgar, as not fit to be used in the halls of legislation and in the presence of the ladies in the galleries is no dout tru, and was loudly asserted by the southerners.

On the motion that the question as to the admission of California, made February 8, 1850, by those who feared that that State would be admitted as a fre State, be laid on the table (Cong. Globe, p. 375) Stevens voted in the negativ becaus he wanted a debate on the question, and this afforded him the first opportunity to be herd on the slavery question.

For a motion having been made to adjourn, Stevens voted no and it was lost by 155 to 43. Mr. McEllernard then moved that the Hous go into a Committee of the Hole, which was voted down; Stevens voting no. It was agen moved that the Hous adjourn, and the motion was lost agen, Stevens voting no. Another motion to go into a Committee of the Hole was lost by 110 to 81, Stevens voting in the negativ. Another motion to adjourn and one to go into Committee

of the Hole were lost, Stevens voting as before. (Cong. Globe, pp. 376-377.)

After fifteen motions to adjourn made that same day, the Hous did finally adjourn without a division, Stevens having voted in the negativ every time but the last. (Cong. Globe, pp. 379-385.)

As the Hous was constituted of 112 Democrats, 105 Whigs and 13 Fre Soilers, these tactics wer evidently resorted to to prevent debate and if possibl the admission of California as a fre state. To this preventing of debate "The Intelligencer probably alludes when it says of Stevens that until about two weeks ago he was quiet, and that a great many members wisht him to remain so." His speeches fully justified their fears of the eruption of that volcano. The substance of these having been given by Mr. Atlee as already stated, they wil not receiv further attention here. It may be wel, however, to call attention to what he contended for point by point.

1—That Congres has exclusiv power to legislate for the territories. He bases his opinions on decisions of the Supreme Court and on the rights derived from the acquisition by war and treaty, but he explicitly denies that "the Constitution follows the flag," as as a matter of cours; but with great vigor appealing to fundamental principles as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and Bills of Rights he denies it the right to legislate slavery into any territory.

2—That Congress has the power to admit new States into the Union, but that those States be formd of territory previously belonging to the Union.

3—That the strongest motiv for acquiring California and New Mexico was that ther might be more territory into which slavery might be intro-

duced, and that Texas had been admitted for the same reason.

4—That "every man may take his property with him" into the territory of the United States, "conforming to the local law when he gets ther."

5—That he will never consent to the admission of another slave state into the Union.

On the motion made July 29, 1850, that California be admitted Stevens calld for the yeas and nays on a motion made to adjourn. After much filibustering, consisting of motions to appeal, to lay on the table, to amend, to prevent the admission of California, the victory was finally won, September 7, 1850.

On all motions Stevens consistently stood by his guns, resolutely opposing the spread of slavery. On the second of the Compromise measures, the bill organizing New Mexico and Utah as a territory without the mention of slavery, which was added as an amendment or rider to the bill defining the northern boundary of Texas and paying her ten millions for assenting to such demarcation, Mr. Stevens spoke in part as follows:

".....We ar askt to add fifty thousand square miles of our territory now free, to Texas, and surrender it to slavery and give ten millions to pay her for taking it. Sir, if Texas wer to giv us ten millions, I would not sel it to her for such a purpose.....I would do ful justice to Texas. I would not take a foot of land which belongs to her. Nor would I giv her any to train her slaves upon." The bil past the Hous September 4, 1850, and thus the second, third and fourth of Clay's resolutions were substantially adopted. The sixth and seventh of Clay's resolutions past September 9, 1850. The seventh was the one out of which the fugitiv slave law was to be

evolved. I have not been able to find any extended remarks or any speech made by Mr. Stevens on this bill. In his previous speech on the general subject of slavery he had however included a discussion on the fugitive slave law as it then stood and with the non-observance of which both Clay and Webster charged the North. I will make a short extract from his 10th of June speech:

"The distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) wishes further to make it the duty of all bystanders to aid in the capture of fugitives; to join in the chase and run down the prey. This is more than my constituents will ever grant. They will strictly abide by the constitution. The slaveholder may pursue his slave among them with his own foreign myrmidons, unmolested except by their frowning scorn. But no law that tyranny can pass will ever induce them to join the hue and cry after the trembling wretch who has escaped from unjust bondage. Their fair land made by nature and their own honest toil, as fertile and as lovely as the Vale of Tempe, shall never become the hunting ground on which the bloodhounds of slavery shall course their prey and command them to join the hunt."

The enacting of the fugitive slave law was the work chiefly of the extreme South, and was "forced upon the North for other reasons than the desire to recover lost property." The motive of its advocates was to humiliate the North for having forced upon them the bitter medicine of free California."

It was passed by their votes. "Thirty-three representatives from the North were either absent or paired or dodged the vote." (Rhodes, Vol. V, 183.)

After the vote was announced Stevens suggested "that the Speaker

should send a page to notify the members on our side of the House that the fugitive slave bill has been disposed of and that they may now come back into the Hall."

In harmony with this are the remarks of Jefferson Davis: "Sir, the northern majority on that occasion allowed the southern minority to pass the bill. The north did not pass it. They did not meet their obligations to the constitution and their faith to the Union. Seats were vacated and southern members were allowed to pass a law which had to be executed at the North." (Von Holst 1850—4, p. 27.)

Note—I may be allowed to add, although this is not included in the topic assigned, that on February 16, 1852, Stevens presented a petition signed by citizens of Lancaster county praying for the repeal of the fugitive slave law. (Cong. Globe, 26,668).

THE NEWSPAPERS AND THE CHRISTIANA RIOT

Albert K. ——— Hostetter,

In the recent papers that have been written for our society on the subject of Slavery and the Underground Railway, up to the time of the Christiana Riot, we have been told in detail how the news was carried from station to station, and how messages were transmitted from the South to the North in the interest of escaping slaves, all, however, in a very quiet and cautious manner, and by the observance of every precaution to avoid these messages from being miscarried, or improperly conveyed.

I will now endeavor to show you how rapidly the news of the tragedy spread throughout the various parts of the country and what expressions were given through some of the newspapers of those times, showing the terrible opposition abolitionists and fugitives were obliged to face.

The gathering of this information has been a very trying undertaking. Many of the publishing companies which were then in existence cannot now be found and few have kept complete files of their papers. On the other hand, where the files do cover that period, and I have been in communication with the owners of them, there were comparatively few instances in which the owners appeared to be willing to look for references in files dating back sixty years ago. Some of the editorials from which I have taken extracts or which I have quoted are very emphatic in their expres-

sions, either in commending or condemning the Riot.

Although the newspapers all over the country were hotly agitating this tragedy for some days before our Lancaster papers took it up, yet that is no indication that our home people were not alive to the situation, for we find that on Friday, the day after the riot, District Attorney Thompson, of this city, was there and had issued warrants for the arrest of a number of suspected persons. Upon making inquiry at the office of the Lancaster Intelligencer, from which office the only daily paper was published in this city, at that time, I was told that the files for 1851 could not be found, and appeared to have been lost.

The "Examiner and Herald," at that time a weekly publication in this city, in their issue of September 17 had the following locals:

One and one-fourth columns describing the tragedy, two columns referring to the first twenty-four arrests which had then been made and the examination of witnesses and one-half column naming the additional arrests, including Samuel Williams, who is said to have carried the news from Philadelphia to Christiana of the contemplated raid by the Gorsuch party. This issue has also two editorials of five inches each and one of three inches.

In the next issue of this paper, September 24, one and one-half columns give further testimony by the witnesses, and a one-half column article gives an anonymous letter under date of September 22 by a resident of Christiana referring to the unjust criticisms that were made at home and abroad against the citizens of the town. He writes: "The public mind has been excited to a very great extent in this immediate neighborhood as well as

abroad, and from all that has appeared in public print an odium of an unpleasant character has been, either by design or otherwise, cast upon the inhabitants of this place. Now, it is said this murder was committed at Christiana, while the place at which it occurred is not within two miles from this village, and not a single white man from this place was at or near the place at the time, neither did one of them know that such an affray was in contemplation until after the occurrence when the first impulse was to hasten to the relief of the strangers." He then relates how the citizens offered all possible help under the trying circumstances, how Joseph D. Pownall, Esq., issued his warrant as soon as the facts were sufficiently known to justify him in so doing and placed it in the hands of the constable.

Concluding, he says: "We know humanity was outraged—life cruelly sported with and destroyed—our laws set at defiance and resisted, yet let us assure you we had neither heart nor hand in this matter until the painful intelligence of its fatal consequences reached our ears, and then did we co-operate manfully as good citizens and republicans with the officers in carrying out the grand object—the bringing to justice of the man-defying, law-breaking insurgents."

On October 1 this paper devotes two and one-fourth columns to the further examination of witnesses, after which, the witnesses all having been heard, one and one-third of a column gives the charge of Judge Kane in the United States District Court, one-third column on "The Law of Treason" and one-third column on the effect of this occurrence on the political situation, in which article Attorney Gen-

eral Franklin received a letter from Rev. J. S. Gorsuch, which was published in the "Baltimore County Advocate of September 18, in which Rev. Gorsuch assailed the Governor in the most vindictive terms and imputed to him and to the Attorney General inactivity and gross dereliction of duty in regard to the murder of his father. In a later letter, dated September 25, he retracts and apologizes for his charges against the Attorney General, but takes occasion to reaffirm his offensive imputations against the Governor.

Franklin, however, states that he cannot consent to be placed in a different position from the Governor in this matter, for they were in such close touch with each other in every move made that either one is entitled to the same criticism or credit which may be given.

The Weekly American, of Waterbury, Conn., in its issue of September 19, under its department headed, "The Week" says: "The deplorable effects of the 'higher law' agitationists have been carried out at Christiana, Pa., by the shedding of human blood and murder, in the late attempt of an owner of a fugitive slave to regain his property. These higher law men, like the Cuban agitators, are morally responsible for encouraging and inviting such resistance to the laws, and as such must account to God and their country." This same paper, under "Editorial Brevities," has an article about twice as long as the above account.

In a letter from Mr. Spafford, of the "Historical Society of Pennsylvania," addressed to Miss Clark, we learn that the Philadelphia Ledger on September 12, 1851, has a paragraph on the murder at Christiana under the

heading of "Local Affairs." On the 13th, under the same heading, there is a trifle less than a half column on "The Lancaster County Riot and Murder," and a brief editorial entitled "Fruits of the Higher Law." An editorial of more than a half column on "Cause and Effect" appears on the 15th, and in the issue of the 16th there is a short editorial on "The Christiana Tragedy." The 17th, under "News," has "The Christiana Tragedy," and quotes from the "Lancaster Tribune." This is merely a paragraph, but the same issue has two-thirds of a column, "Excitements," in an editorial, in addition to nearly a column under "Local Affairs" on "The Christiana Murder." A quarter of a column on "The Authors of Mischief," quoting from the "New York Courier" and the Lancaster Examiner, appears on the 18th under "News." The issue of the 19th has a column on the "History of the Christiana Tragedy by one of Mr. Gorsuch's Sons." On the 20th, in the news column, "The Governor of Maryland on the Christiana Riot," takes a half column to tell of the "Christiana Outrage," also under "News." A paragraph on the 23d is devoted to "Important Disclosures Anticipated," and on the 24th inst. a short account of "The Lancaster Authorities."

There are said to be two sides to all questions, but it is surprising to notice how little support the press of those days gave to the efforts of the Abolitionists, particularly so throughout the anti-slavery sections of the United States. Take, for instance, an editorial copied from one of the daily Philadelphia (Whig) newspapers, which reads as follows: "There can be no difference of opinion concerning the shocking affair

which occurred at Christiana on Thursday, the resisting of a law of Congress by a band of armed negroes whereby the majesty of the Government was defied and life taken in one and the same act. There is something more than even a murderous riot in all this. It is an act of insurrection, we might, considering the peculiar class and condition of the guilty parties, almost call it a servile insurrection—if not also one of treason. Fifty, eighty, or one hundred persons, whether white or black, who are deliberately in arms for the purpose of resisting the law, even the law for the recovery of fugitive slaves, are in the attitude of levying war against the United States, and doubly heavy becomes the crime of murder in such a case, and doubly serious the accountability of all who have any connection with the act as advisors, suggesters, countenancers or accessories in any way whatever.”

Another Philadelphia daily paper has this to say: “The unwarrantable outrage committed last week at Christiana, Lancaster county, is a foul stain upon the fair name and fame of our State. We are pleased to see that officers of the Federal and State Governments are upon the tracks of those who were engaged in the Riot, and that several arrests have been made. We do not wish to see the poor, misled blacks, who participated in the affair, suffer to any great extent, for they were but tools. The men who are really chargeable with treason against the United States Government, and with the death of Mr. Gorsuch, an estimable citizen of Maryland, are, unquestionably, white, with hearts black enough to incite them to the commission of any crime equal in atrocity to that committed in Lancaster county. Penn-

sylvania has now but one course to pursue, and that is to aid, and warmly aid, the United States in bringing to condign punishment every man engaged in the Riot. Let her in this resolve be just and fearless."

In the issue of the Indiana State Sentinel (weekly) for September 25, 1851, appears, under date September 18, an account of the Riot taken from the Baltimore Sun. Under date of September 19 is an editorial to the following purport:

"This is a most unfortunate event for the free colored population, and will produce great excitement in the country. They had, no doubt, been prepared and trained for the terrible deed by those white neighbors, who are equally guilty with the poor, misguided blacks. White men and Abolitionists prompted them to the deed. All engaged in the transaction are guilty of murder and treason. Such are the terrible consequences of preaching resistance to law and invoking the religious prejudices of the country against an institution which has existed since creation, and appealing to a law above the Constitution to justify every act of blood and slaughter. Unless the friends of law and order stand firm and united, a terrible war of races is to occur, which must exterminate the weaker."

Under date of September 20, in the same issue of the paper, is a copy of an editorial comment in the "Pennsylvanian" of September 13, and a short item consisting of quotations from various sources against the fugitive slave laws.

Mr. Bernard C. Steiner, librarian of the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore, having inspected the files of newspapers at the Maryland Historical Society, writes the following: "There are three dailies for 1851, two

morning papers, the Sun (Democratic) and the American (Whig), also an evening paper named the Evening Argus (Democratic)."

On September 12 the Argus prints half a column from the Baltimore County Jacksonian, a narrative of the Riot. On the 18th it prints half a column of news from the Philadelphia Bulletin, and a quarter of a column editorial entitled "Now Is the Time For Action," stating "if Pennsylvania will not give redress, Maryland must redress her own wrong." On the 14th a third of a column of news, concerning the late "Abolition and Negro Outrages," is printed. On the 17th there is a quarter of a column editorial praising the remarks of Judge Z. C. Lee at a meeting held on the 15th. On the 23d J. S. Gorsuch's letter to Governor Johnston is printed.

The Sun for September 12 has a brief notice of a telegraphic dispatch concerning the Riot. On the 13th it prints two-thirds of a column of news, chiefly from the Baltimore County Jacksonian and the Philadelphia Inquirer, and a brief editorial speaking of the gross and murderous outrage at the instigation of that diabolical spirit. On the 15th two-thirds of a column on the Christiana outrage is printed, partly from the Columbia Spy and Philadelphia Bulletin, with reference to a meeting at Towson town. A brief editorial on the the murderous outrage says that Governor Lowe will doubtless take prompt steps in the matter. On September 16th a brief editorial praises the action of the Federal and Pennsylvania authorities, and nearly three columns of news gives the report of testimony before the commission and Coroner's jury, from the Philadelphia North American, as well

as the resolutions of the Philadelphia meeting, a letter from Mr. Cadwallader, etc., to Governor Johnston, and his response, his proclamation, and extracts from editorials in the Philadelphia Inquirer and Ledger, the Washington Republic, and the resolutions passed at Towson. On September 17th, editorially, the Federal and Maryland authorities are praised, and nearly a column of news is given from the Philadelphia Ledger and Statesman, with a letter from a correspondent from Columbia and abstract of testimony before a commissioner. On September 18th nearly two columns of news include the resolution of Gorsuch's friends at Slade's tavern, a letter to the Washington Union, probably from Henry May, Deputy Attorney General, and a long letter from J. S. Gorsuch. On September 19 a brief editorial on arrests, the correspondence between Governor Lowe and the President, resolutions in Bartlett township from the Lancaster Examiner and of the Philadelphia meeting, fill nearly two columns. On the 20th brief editorial and Gorsuch's letter to Johnston. On the 22d a brief note from the Baltimore County Advocate is reprinted, defending Pennsylvania from lawlessness. On the 23d we find a brief note from the Philadelphia North American; on the 24th, a statement that the trial will be on October 6; on the 25th, the Lancaster Union's reply to J. S. Gorsuch; on the 26th, a half column editorial on indictment for treason, the latter from J. S. Gorsuch, and a third of a column on examination of prisoners. The American on September 12th has a brief note; on the 13th, two-thirds of a column account of the horrible affray, gathered from individuals; on the 15th, a third of a column from

the Philadelphia Bulletin and other sources; on the 16th, a long editorial on the crime of treason, and nearly a column of the evidence from the Philadelphia papers and the Towson resolves; on the 17th, one-quarter of a column from the Philadelphia Ledger and the Lancaster Union; on the 19th, one-quarter of a column from the Boston Courier; on the 20th, two-thirds of a column from the Boston Courier; on the 21st, two-thirds of a column of Lowe's correspondence with the President and extracts from the Philadelphia Ledger and the Jacksonian; on the 24th, short notices from the North American and the Ledger.

Mr. Samuel H. Ranck, a former Lancaster countian, who is now librarian of the Grand Rapids library, of Grand Rapids, Mich., copies a very interesting article on this subject from "The Grand Rapids Enquirer," of September 24, 1851. It is interesting in that the facts, as represented therein, are very much distorted. The statement is here made that the Gorsuch party, on their way to Christiana, encountered a negro man and boy, one of whom Mr. Gorsuch immediately recognized as one of his runaway slaves. Both negroes ran, pursued by the Gorsuch party, into the village, where they took refuge in a strongly fortified house, from which one of the negroes dropped a heavy billet of wood out of an upper story window, on one of the pursuing party, felling him to the earth. It further states that the body of the elder Gorsuch was shockingly mutilated, having been beaten with clubs, by the infuriated wretches, even after life was extinct. After the melee it is stated that Mr. Gorsuch's nephew, quite seriously wounded, made his way to York, Pa., the same night, and that after the shooting, such was the

violence that none of the survivors could remain to care for the wounded. This article, which is quite lengthy, has been carefully preserved in the archives of the society, where it may at any future time be referred to.

Through the courtesy of Dr. H. J. Herbein, Secretary of the Schuylkill County Historical Society, we learn that the *Miners' Journal*, of Pottsville, in its issue of September 13 gives an account of the riot. In its issue of the 27th it gives an account of the trial of the rioters. In the same issue is a lengthy editorial in which it is shown how an attempt was made to make political capital out of this accidental circumstance. Governor Johnston was at this time canvassing the State in the interest of his re-election as Chief Executive of the State, and was severely criticised for some of his actions in connection with this matter. The writer of this editorial quotes from "The Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch" the following:

"It really seems as if no subject is safe from the 'pickers and stealers' of professed politicians. Even crime and misfortune are to the unscrupulous partisans windfalls which are eagerly seized upon as affording opportunities for manufacturing political capital." He then gives a plain statement of the facts of the case—the riot—the arrests—the vigilance and efficiency of the officers—the excitement and indignation of the people of Lancaster county and elsewhere, etc., etc. It was a terrible state of things indeed, and yet, instead of immediately waiting upon the Governor, who was in the town at that very moment, and had been all that day, instead of paying the honor due to the representative of the Government of the Commonwealth, instead of going to him in deputation and beseeching him to

send that military force to Lancaster county, the leaders, having signed the appeal, separated and went to their homes. It was not until twenty-four hours afterward, during which time the fearful insurrection was raging at Christiana, that a letter addressed to the Governor was left at the bar of his hotel and handed to him by a servant. He then alludes to the crushing answer of the Governor, and the abortive attempt of the "political cooks" to reply, in which they "confess and avoid the Governor's statements and endeavor to cover themselves with a cloud by asserting that the crime of which the negroes were guilty was high treason, a question wholly irrelevant to the matter in hand, whether the State authorities performed their duty or not." This editorial, being quite lengthy, cannot be fully copied here, but has been placed on file in the archives of our society, and at a later time is supposed to be bound into the current volume of our society's publications.

Elisa May Willard, Reference Librarian of the Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, has supplied us with considerable material from several of the Pittsburgh papers.

On September 13, under the head of Telegraphic News, the Pittsburgh Gazette gives three inches to a brief description of the Riot. On the 15th they give two inches under a similar heading, and on the following day two telegraphic despatches of two inches each, still further describing the affair. In this issue they also have an editorial of one-half column. On the 18th appears another editorial of one-half column, in which the author believes that a sufficient cause for the fearful act may be found in the infamous party tactics of the Locofoco

press of the State, which has endeavored to identify the Whigs with the Abolitionists, and charge them with hostility to the Union and the fugitive slave law. Though wasted on white men this silliness has made an impression on the minds of the poor, ignorant blacks.

On September 19 this paper gives one column under "General News" to quotations from various other papers on this subject; also, three-fourths of a column editorial commenting on the proclamation of the Governor.

On September 13, "Der Freiheits Freund" (Freedom's Friend), a German paper of Pittsburgh, has a half-inch item under "Telegraphic News." On September 17 they have an editorial of one column fully describing the tragedy.

Some of the articles herein referred to have been found too lengthy to embody in this paper, and have, therefore, been prepared so as to permanently preserve them with this paper in the archives of our society.

MINUTES OF DECEMBER MEETING

Lancaster, Pa., Dec. 1, 1911.

The Lancaster County Historical Society held its regular monthly session this evening in the rooms in the free library building. There was a good attendance of members. The president, Mr. Steinman, was in the chair.

The acting librarian, Miss Lottie M. Bausman, announced the following donations since the last meeting: Bound volumes—History of St. John's Reformed Church of Riegelsville, Pa., from B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., Riegelsville; History of Royal Arch Chapter, No. 43, 1809-1909, from Andrew H. Hershey; Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology; Academy of Pacific Coast History, Vol. 1, from University of California; The Desecration and Profanation of the Pennsylvania Capitol, from Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker. Pamphlets—The William Penn Memorial, 1911, from Pennsylvania Society; Pamphlets Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume 10 of the North Carolina Historical Society; Pamphlet No. 1, Volume 1, of the University of California Publications in History; Linden Hall Echo; International Conciliation, 3 numbers; Fourth Annual Historic Commemoration of Chester County Historical Society; two old almanacs for years 1841 and 1845, from Miss Anna Messenkop. By purchase—Scharf and Westcott's History of Philadelphia (3 volumes); Watson's Annals of Philadelphia (3 volumes); History of Montgomery

County; History of Dauphin and Lebanon Counties; 1908 Year Volume of Notes and Queries; four documents, 1760, 1776, 1743, 1770; "Funeral Obsequies of Hon. Thaddeus Stevens," from M. N. Brubaker, Mt. Joy.

B. Maurice Eby, of Gap, was nominated for membership, and on motion Adam F. Spangler, of Ephrata, was elected a member.

On motion, an exchange of books with the Bucks County Historical Society was authorized.

On motion, the secretary was instructed to draw an order for the payment of \$5 to the housekeeper of the library building.

A. K. Hostetter reported the purchase for the society at the last Stan. V. Henkel sale of fourteen volumes of the society's proceedings, and, on motion, the secretary was instructed to draw an order for \$12.60 in payment of the bill.

On motion, the secretary was authorized to draw an order for \$25 in favor of the Smith free library for the rental of the society's room.

On motion, it was decided not to take up one general subject for discussion by the society during the next year, but to receive papers on miscellaneous historical matters.

The following officers were placed in nomination: President, George Steinman; vice-presidents, F. R. Diefenderffer, Litt.D., and W. U. Hensel, Esq.; recording secretary, Chas. B. Hollinger; corresponding secretary, Miss Martha B. Clark; librarian, Miss Lottie M. Bausman; treasurer, A. K. Hostetter; executive committee, D. F. Magee, H. Frank Eshleman, Esq., D. B. Landis, G. F. K. Erisman, Mrs. Sarah B. Carpenter, Monroe B. Hirsh, R. K. Buehrle, J. L. Summy, L. B. Herr and Mrs. M. N. Robinson.

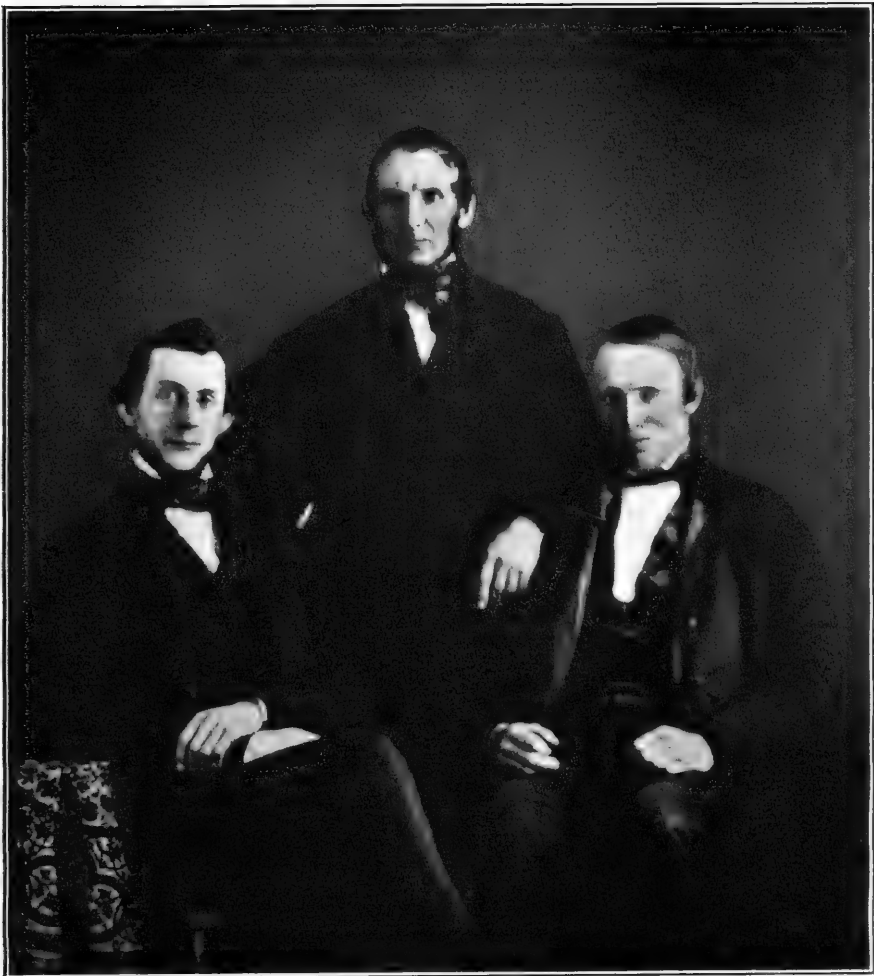
Dr. R. K. Buehrle submitted and

read a most entertaining paper on the subject, "Thaddeus Stevens' Attitude Towards the Omnibus Bill," the article being a portion of the supplementary matter of the slavery question prepared by a specially appointed committee. Mr. A. K. Hostetter also read a paper made up in great part of abstracts of newspaper articles from different parts of the country, and bearing on the slavery question and comments on the Christiana Riot.

A vote of thanks was extended to both Dr. Buehrle and Mr. Hostetter.

As the papers were the last of the report of the committee on supplementary slavery matter, the committee, on motion, was discharged.

The society then adjourned.



CASTNER HANWAY.

ELIJAH LEWIS.

JOSEPH SCARLET.

TAKEN SOON AFTER THE TREASON TRIALS.

THE CHRISTIANA RIOT
AND
THE TREASON TRIALS
OF 1851

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

BY
W. U. HENSEL

PREPARED AND PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMEMORATION
OF THESE EVENTS, SEPTEMBER 9, 1911

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1911

PREFACE.

The preparation of this sketch and contribution to our local history had been long contemplated by the Editor and Compiler. Born near the locality where the events occurred which are its subject, he has been for more than half a century intimately related with their associations. He has regard for the integrity of motive which alike animated both parties to the conflict. It was a miniature of the great struggle of opposing ideas that culminated in the shock of Civil War, and was only settled by that stern arbiter. He rejoices that what seemed to be an irrepressible conflict between Law and Liberty at last ended in Peace. To help to perpetuate that condition between long-estranged neighbors and kin, this offering is made to the work of the Lancaster County Historical Society.

While it has been written and published for that Society, no responsibility for anything it contains or for its promulgation attaches to any one except the author. Where opinions are expressed—and they have been generally avoided as far as possible in disputed matters—he alone is responsible. Where facts are stated, except upon authority expressly named, he accepts the risk of refutation. In all cases he has tried to ascertain and to tell the exact truth. He worked in no other spirit and for no other purpose; and wherein he has failed his is all the blame.

W. U. H.

“BLEAK HOUSE,”

August 12, 1911.

THE CHRISTIANA RIOT.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

I propose to write the history of the so-called "Christiana Riot" and "Treason Trials" of 1851, as they occurred — without partiality, prejudice or apology, for or against any of those who participated in them. As is inevitable in all such collisions, there were, on either side of the border troubles of that period, men of high principle and right motive and also rowdies and adventurers, disposed to resort to ruthless violence for purposes of sordid gain. There were slave-masters who sincerely believed in the righteousness of an institution of ancient origin, while even the more sagacious of their class recognized it as at variance with the divine law and the trend of Christian civilization, and inevitably doomed to extinction. There were on this side of the line many who, believing themselves humanitarians, were mere mischievous agitators, lawless in deed and treasonable in design, reckless of those rights of property which are as sacred in regard of the law as the rights of man. There were, too, in the North wicked slave catchers and kidnappers whose brutalities aroused the just resentment of the communities in which they operated, even when they kept within the limits of strict and technical legal rights.

It was of course impossible, as Mr. Lincoln pointed out, for the republic to endure forever half slave and half free — to run a geographical marker through a great and complicated moral, economic and political issue — especially in

view of the far flung border line and the rapidly increasing development of communication and transmission.

If, however, all the great statesmen, economists and churchmen who had struggled with the slavery question since the formation of the Union were unable to solve it, without the awful carnage of a tremendous and long lasting civil war, can it be the cause of special wonder that a handful of Marylanders in lawful search of their escaped property, and a larger group of free and fugitive negroes, with the "embattled farmers" who sympathized with them, should have made the hills of this peaceful Chester Valley echo with gun shots and stained its soil with blood, when Man and Master met in final and fatal contest for what each had been taught was his right?

Numerous attempts have been made to publish reports of this incident which would serve the purposes of permanent history; and, while they have all been helpful, none has been complete. On his return to Maryland after his failure to convict Hanway and the others of treason, Attorney General Robert J. Brent, of Maryland, made an elaborate official report to Governor E. Louis Lowe, who in turn submitted it, with extended comments of his own, to the General Assembly of Maryland, January 7, 1852. From the standpoint of the lawyer and the chief executive of a slave state, both are able deliverances. Aroused by their version of the affair, and especially by their comments on the treason trial, and impatient over the delay in publishing the official report of it, W. Arthur Jackson, junior counsel for the defendant, printed a pamphlet review of it, which shows much ability, has great value and has become very rare. The official photographic report of the trial, by James J. Robbins, of the Philadelphia bar (King & Baird, 1852), is of course a copious fountain of exact information—as well as an interesting exhibit of the "reportorial" efficiency of that day. From all of these I have felt at liberty to draw largely.

"A True Story of the Christiana Riot," by David R. Forbes, 1898, tinged with sectional prejudice, has much matter that was well worthy of preservation, and the new facts it contains, if verified, I have freely used. All of the general political histories of the period refer to the Christiana tragedy as having significance in the intense agitation of the issue raised by the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850. Fred. Douglass' stories of his life and time; William Still's "Underground Railroad," and Dr. R. C. Smedley's "History of the Underground Railroad" have also been subjects of my levy for aid. To them, however, have been added the personal reminiscences of Dr. J. W. Houston, Thomas Whitson, Esq., Ambrose Pownall, Charles Dingee, Gilbert Bushong, Peter Woods, William P. Brinton, Cyrus Brinton and many other residents of the neighborhood in which the riot occurred and from which the prisoners in the trials for life were taken. Access has been had to the diaries and family records of the Pownall, Hanway, Lewis and Gorsuch families; and many other original sources of information, including the local and metropolitan newspapers of that day, whose enterprise and impartiality were somewhat variable. Some of them published full reports of the trial.

For the first time, however, I think, the subject has been studied with some care and consideration for the facts as disclosed and from the point of view occupied at the home of the Gorsuches. The family of Dr. F. G. Mitchell, whose wife is a daughter of Dickinson Gorsuch, and who now owns the property then of her grandfather, Edward Gorsuch, from which the slaves fled, have been especially gracious and helpful, withal fair and generous in their attitude toward an event which brought brutal death to one ancestor and long suffering to another.

J. Wesley Knight, long resident of the neighborhood of Monkton and Glencoe, Maryland, and who was under the roof of the Gorsuch homestead when the slaves escaped, has

given me much accurate information as to their previous condition of servitude.

If their contribution to the history of the encounter and the events preceding it presents the relation of the Southerners to it in a far more favorable light than has hitherto attended its narration, no fair-minded student of history can object to the whole truth, even at this late day. That the Gorsuch runaways were not heroic and scarcely even picturesque characters; and that their owners were humane and Christian people, and not the brutal slave traders and cruel taskmasters who figured in much of the anti-slavery fiction, can no longer be doubted. But if the Lancaster County Historical Society exists for any purpose it is illustrated in its apt motto: "History herself as seen in her own workshop." Every such shop must show some chips and filings; and occasionally the more these abound the better will be the craftsman's product. I cannot hope—and I certainly do not desire—this should be the "last word" about the "Christiana Riot"; but the occasion of its Sixtieth Anniversary and the Commemoration seemed to call for a historical review up to date; and the story of its few survivors had to be caught before it was lost.

It may be confidently predicted that when our long-looked-for local Stronghand in imaginative literature shall seek for a theme near at home, he will find it in the dramatic story of the "Christiana Riot"; or when some gifted Lancaster County Son of Song shall arise and strike the trembling harp strings, the scene of his epic will follow the winding Octoraro and lie along the track of the Fugitive Slave.

CHAPTER II.

THE LAW OF THE LAND.

The Early Compromises of the Constitution — Pennsylvania's Move Toward Abolition — The Act of 1826 — The Prigg Case — Border Troubles — The Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 — Wrongs of Escaped Slaves and Rights of Their Owners.

It is entirely unnecessary for the purposes of this particular story to enlarge upon, or to review at length, the long debate, the innumerable compromises, the many makeshifts and the unending controversies which attended the discussion of the slavery question from the agitation and adoption of the Federal Constitution to the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 — and which then left it utterly unsettled. It is, however, important that a few plain landmarks of the law be kept in sight to guide one who would fitly study the general history of the times and fairly estimate the significance of the local events to be narrated.

The Union of the States was only effected by the adoption of Art. IV; the general purpose of which was to require each State to give full faith and credit to the public acts and records of other States. The exact language of its section 3 was:

“No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.”

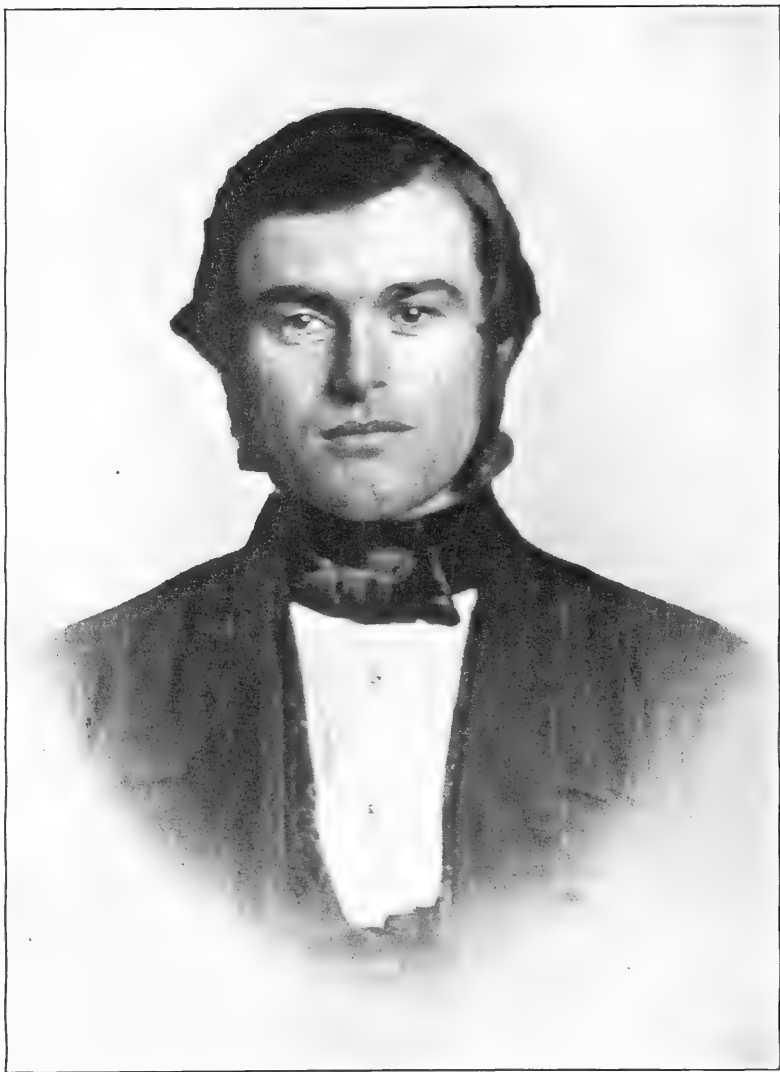
No union could have been effected without this agreement. Whether that federation was a contract from which any party to it could retire, for a violation of it by other parties thereto, need not be discussed here. The affirmative of that

proposition was not the creed of any particular party or section. It was originally maintained by New England Federalists; it was later defended by Southern Democrats; it was at last decided adversely in battle and by the sword. While there is now general acquiescence in the result, the final decision was not the prevailing doctrine of the people of the United States in 1851.

Under the Constitution the Right to Reclaim the fugitive slave was no more unmistakable than the Duty to Return him. The Law of the Land gave to each State the right to regulate its own domestic institutions; and that right was expressly recognized and guaranteed even by the Republican party and by Abraham Lincoln long after the outbreak of the Civil War. The slavery questions upon which political parties differed up to 1851 were not disputes as to the rights of slave owners and slaves in Slave States; nor as to the rights of slave owners against their escaped slaves in Free States, but as to the extension of slavery and the status of the institution in the National territories.

The prevailing popular misapprehension on this subject may be easily pardoned when it is observed that so eminent an authority as Oswald Garrison Villard, in his recent excellent biography of John Brown, says the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 "made legal in the North the rendition of negroes who had found their way to Free States." That proposition was recognized by all political parties from 1793 to 1863.

The Fugitive Slave Act of 1793 was passed in strict conformity with the Constitution of the United States; and it impressed upon the executive authorities of the several States the duty of arrest, and upon their magistrates the obligation to hear and commit the fugitives for return. That act was generally recognized as just in its essence and object. As late as 1850 even the Free Soil party assented to the legal principle it involved. In execution, however, its processes were greatly abused; unlawful seizures, unwarranted



DICKINSON GORSUCH.

DANGEROUSLY WOUNDED IN THE RIOT

reclamations and ruthless kidnappings were common occurrences in the lower parts of the Border States along the line of Slavery and Freedom. Pennsylvania, after respectful hearing of the Maryland Commissioners and due consideration for their suggestions, enacted the Act of 1826, which made the State Courts the arbiters of claims to fugitives; forbade justices to exercise these powers; and, in the line of Pennsylvania's movements since 1780 to extinguish slavery and protect free persons, it made the free-born children of escaped slaves citizens of Pennsylvania and put them under its protection.

This legislation accorded with judicial decisions of the highest court in Pennsylvania. In *Commonwealth v. Hallows*, 2 S. & R., 305 (1816), Mary, a negro slave of James Course of Maryland, absconded from her master and came to Philadelphia, where, after she had resided for about two years, her child Eliza was born. It was held that under the Act of March 1, 1780, which Pennsylvania passed "for the gradual abolition of slavery," this child, born as she was, was entitled to freedom; that the provision of the Federal Constitution for the return of a slave from one state "escaping into another," did not apply to the free-born child of a fugitive, and that even under the Constitution of the United States the child Eliza was born free. Justice Gibson filed a concurring opinion, at the conclusion of which he said: "Whether this case is to be considered a hard one or not will depend much upon the temper with which the mind may contemplate the positive and artificial rights of the master over the mother, on the one hand, or on the other the natural rights of her child."

After the Act of 1826 the border troubles, especially between York and Lancaster Counties, Pennsylvania, and Cecil, Harford and Baltimore Counties, Maryland, were much intensified. Mason and Dixon line was the imaginary demarcation between two wholly antagonistic social and po-

litical orders. The same person might be a Maryland slave under Maryland law and a Pennsylvania freeman under Pennsylvania law. Owners and agents, armed with Maryland authority to reclaim property, made theirs by Maryland law, were felonious kidnappers in Pennsylvania. The anomalous condition of affairs and the legal difficulties arising out of it are best illustrated by actual facts. A slave woman escaped from her owner, James S. Mitchell, of Cecil County, Maryland, in 1845. During her absence, as a fugitive from his service, she had given birth in New Jersey to an illegitimate child. Through the instrumentality of agents, residing in Pennsylvania, Mitchell apprehended the woman, who together with the child, had been delivered to him at Elkton, in Cecil County. The woman was taken in Pennsylvania by George F. Alberti and James Frisby. These agents, themselves fearing to incur possible responsibilities, had repeatedly refused to take the child with the mother; until finally overcome by the entreaties of the mother herself, they yielded to their feelings of benevolence, and assumed the risk. They were arrested for kidnapping; evidence to show their motives in including the child in the return was excluded, and they were sentenced to long terms in the penitentiary—for permitting it to accompany the mother, whose own recapture and return by them were admittedly lawful. The state of the record of the case was such that it could not be appealed to the United States Supreme Court. Mitchell himself, who had not even been in Pennsylvania, was indicted here for kidnapping the child and was subject to seven years in the penitentiary. The Governor of Pennsylvania issued, and the Governor of Maryland declined to honor, a requisition for him. There were many other cases of which this was a type.

On the other hand, there were unquestionably well-authenticated cases of slaves returned in violation of their legal claims and of free negroes brutally kidnapped and remorse-

lessly sold to slavery without a fair hearing and adjudication of their rights. The offenders were often protected by legal technicalities, obstructions or difficulties, and by friendly jurisdictions North or South.

A case pregnant with great legal and political consequences finally arose under the conflicting claims of Maryland and Harford County on one side and Pennsylvania and York County on the other. It reached the Supreme Court of the United States and the contest was a momentous battle in the campaign of pro- and anti-slavery agitation. Lawyers will find it fully reported in 16 Peters, U. S., 539 (1842):

Edward Prigg, a citizen of Harford County, Maryland, together with Nathan S. Bemis, Jacob Forward and Stephen Lewis, Jr., were indicted in York County, Pennsylvania, O. and T., for kidnapping an alleged free child of Margaret Morgan, in violation of the Pennsylvania law of 1826, which made it a felony, punishable with from seven to twenty-one years imprisonment at hard labor, to carry off, sell or detain a free negro from Pennsylvania. Prigg was the agent—and the others his assistants—of Margaret Ashmore, owner of Margaret Morgan, who escaped from her and fled to Pennsylvania in 1832. Her children, taken back to Maryland by Prigg, were born in Pennsylvania—one of them more than a year after she escaped. Under Pennsylvania law they were free; under Maryland law and the common law principle that “the brood follows the dam” they were slaves.* To avert the disastrous results that always follow a conflict of laws between neighbors, Pennsylvania and Maryland agreed that the facts should be the subject of a special verdict, so that after Prigg’s conviction and sentence his case might be heard and the issue it involved be determined by the highest Federal Court of final jurisdiction and of last resort.

* The rule of the civil law *partus sequitur ventrem*, formerly prevailed in re domestic slavery.—1 Dall. 167.

The United States Supreme Court held that the Federal Constitution self-executed its provisions; that the owner of a fugitive slave could retake him wherever found; and that the National government—not the State governments—must support and enforce this right; that the Fugitive Slave Law of 1793 recognized this and left nothing on the subject to State regulation. But the Court doubted whether State magistrates or officials were bound to perform any duty imposed upon them in this respect by a Federal law; and the State statute under which Prigg was indicted was held to be unconstitutional and void.

In the discussion Meredith and Hambley appeared for Prigg, and virtually for Maryland. For the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania appeared Attorney General Ovid F. Johnson (under Governor D. R. Porter); and he frankly stated that the real and substantial parties to the controversy were Maryland and Pennsylvania, whose officials came into that high Court “to terminate disputes and contentions which were arising and had for years arisen along the border line between them on this subject of the escape and delivering up of fugitive slaves. Neither party sought the defeat or the humiliation of the other. It was for the triumph of the law they presented themselves before the Court. They were engaged under an imperative sense of duty in the work of peace; and he hoped he would be pardoned if he added of patriotism also.”

Story, of Massachusetts, delivered the Court's opinion. He had been appointed by Madison, served a long time on the bench and was a jurist of high renown; but Taney, C. J., while concurring in the judgment, expressly dissented from the doctrine that the State authorities were “prohibited from interfering for the purpose of protecting the rights of the master and aiding him in the recovery of his property.” He thought the contrary to be not only the right, but the duty of the State. The Federal Constitution meant this when

it declared "the fugitive shall be given up." He predicted that if the State officials under the State laws could not arrest the fugitive, "the territory of the State must soon become an open pathway for the fugitives escaping from other States." Justices Baldwin and Thompson concurred with Taney; Wayne with Story, and also Daniel, filing opinions. McLean held that Congress might prescribe the duty of State officers. All seven Justices expressed separate opinions.

Taney's forecast was right. Maryland and Pennsylvania—especially the southeastern counties of this State—soon became an open pathway for the fugitive slaves. Their track was lighted from many a window in the households of the Chester Valley; and two main lines of the Underground Railroad ran through Lancaster County, close to where the two lines of the great steam railway which traverses it from east to west are now located.

Acquiescing in this decision Pennsylvania, in 1847, repealed the provisions of the Act of 1826 repugnant to the Federal Constitution; and remanded the whole subject to Congress. Like legislation in other States left the slaveholders stripped of the remedies they claimed under the Constitution. Hence the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, with its more drastic processes, manifold deputies marshal, "*posse comitatus*" of the bystanders, penalties for obstruction of processes and many other provisions—which if they had been tolerable under the conditions prevailing long after 1793, had now become odious to the largely increased and rapidly increasing number of persons who were opposed to all forms of slavery, regardless of its constitutional protection or right at law.

For this class Lancaster County's then representative in Congress, Thaddeus Stevens, was the boldest and most aggressive spokesman. When, in 1851, he denounced every form of human slavery he was so far in advance of his party (Whig

then and Republican ten years later) that in 1861 a Republican Congress, Charles Francis Adams, of Massachusetts, the first Free Soil Candidate for Vice President, heading the "Ayes," by an overwhelming vote declared that all attempts of the States to override or obstruct the Fugitive Slave Law were unconstitutional and "dangerous to the peace of the Union"; that all enactments to that end should be repealed and there was no authority outside of a State wherein then existed a right "to interfere with slaves or slavery in such States, in disregard of the rights of their owners or the peace of society."



AN OLD SOUTHERN COOK.

SLAVE AND SERVANT IN THE GORSUCH FAMILY. MORE THAN 100 YEARS OLD.

CHAPTER III.

CONDITIONS ALONG THE BORDER.

On the Different Sides of Mason and Dixon Line — Conflicts of Ideas and of Citizenship — Lower Lancaster County a Gateway — Terror of the "Gap Gang" — The Underground Railway — Outrages by the Slave Catchers and Kidnappers.

Formal legislation and statutory enactments could not repress the instincts of humanity. Involuntary bondage of men, women and children was not consistent with either the spirit of free institutions or the instincts of a progressive citizenship. As it was impossible to prevent reckless and degenerate men from abusing the processes of the law by kidnapping and other forms of crime against the colored race; and as it was impossible for the most humane and philanthropic elements of slaveholding citizenship to prevent constantly recurring barbarities and horrors resulting logically from the legal recognition of property and traffic in human flesh and blood, so it was impossible to forbid thousands of good men and women throughout the North — in all other respects law-abiding people — to secretly aid and even to publicly promote the escape of slaves fleeing from slavery. Nor could those who thus kept their conscience while they broke the law discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy in slave or master. There was no time in the quick trips between the stations of the Underground Railway to ascertain with precision whether the passenger was fleeing from just or unjust treatment, whether he had the character of a criminal escaping deserved punishment, or of a bondman aspiring to a condition of freedom; nor to judge and determine the individual merits and the legal rights of the owner. Behind lay Slavery — beyond blazed the North Star of Freedom.

Lower Lancaster County was at the gateway of this path. For a comparatively short distance—only about five miles—the Mason and Dixon line forms its Southern boundary. Only two of its townships are in contact with Maryland, Fulton and Little Britain, and the last named barely touched the edge of the Southland of Slavery. In its citizenship Lancaster County represented all the principal elements which enter into our composite commonwealth. The more numerous and important strain of blood, occupying the wider and richer upper domain, was composed very largely of the so-called Pennsylvania German sect and church people, who had little fellowship with the negro race, little interest in or sympathy with its cause and very slight personal contact with its members. In the lower townships the principal elements were the so-called Scotch-Irish Presbyterian and the Friends; between them there was considerable friction, if not antagonism; they had for nearly a century represented different views of society and government. Their variance was very distinct in their respective early attitudes toward “the Indian question.”

It has been made the subject of forcible contrast that the prevailing Quaker settlement of Fulton and Western Drumore townships took on the more placid aspect of the Conowingo, whose smooth meadows and flowery banks characterized these localities; while the eastern end of Drumore, Cole-rain and Little Britain had peculiarly the type illustrated by the more turbulent flow and rugged hillsides of the Octoraro. Both streams find their outlet in the Susquehanna, and at very nearly the same sea level. But in the days of the Fugitive Slave Law and of local defiance of it the North bound bondsman generally made his way to the Chester Valley by Pleasant Grove and Liberty Square, rather than by Kirkwood and Nine Points.

Of the two “schools” the Hicksite branch of Friends was not only the more numerous in the Lower End, but its

members were the more aggressive in their hostility to slavery. The Presbyterian works out his humanitarianism rather more directly through the law than around or under it; and, while in many households of this faith, colored servants and farm hands found trusted and long continued employment, the general attitude of the Scotch-Irish to the slavery question was different from that of the Quaker; socially the blood of the negro was more offensive to the more aggressive race.

There were, of course, far more than enough exceptions to "prove the rule." Rev. Lindley C. Rutter, long the beloved pastor of Chestnut Level Presbyterian Church, was one of the most fearless and outspoken of the local Abolitionists. Likewise "Father" William Easton, of the Octoraro United Presbyterian Church. In the neighborhood of Quarryville, where the German and Scotch Irish elements seemed to meet, intermixture of colored and white blood was not infrequent; and, contrary to the general laws of miscegenation and degeneration, many of the mulatto, quadroon and octroon people sprung from these racial intermarriages were very respectable, honest and industrious citizens.

On the north side of the Mine Ridge, that range running westward from Gap across Lancaster County, during the "fifties" there was a considerable amount of outlawry on the part of an organized "gang," whose depredations now took on the form of kidnapping and again the less illegal, but by no means more popular, practice of aiding the recapture and return—regularly or irregularly—of fugitive slaves. If their raids and robberies were the terror of the farmers, millers, butchers and storekeepers of the peaceful Pequea Valley, on the south side of which their strongholds then lay, their incursions into the homes and haunts of colored laborers beyond the Octoraro hills were no less cause for alarm among the free or fugitive colored people than they were of intense resentment and indignation on the part

of the white friends, employers and protectors of the blacks.

While then one trail of the Underground Railroad ran by Columbia and Bird-in-Hand, whereon friendly hands passed the fugitive from Stephen Smith to Daniel Gibbons; and a branch led from Joseph Taylor's, at Ashville to Penningtonville and Christiana, another had a continuous line of stations from the Gilberts and Bushongs around May, in Bart, or later Eden township, out "the valley" to and past the scene of what was to be the deepest tragedy which ever thrilled this little community.

Popular feeling was not wholly unprepared for it. The conflagration was not a sudden outbreak. Combustibles had been accumulating. Local incidents, such as escapes, man hunts, kidnappings and other like events had occurred to an extent sufficient to excite popular interest; and by rumor they had been exaggerated enough to further inflame it; numerous persons supposed or known to be ex-slaves resided and worked in the neighborhood and were the subjects of a qualified popular protection. There had been outrages on one side and some reprisals on the other.

In 1850 it was alleged that an innocent and free colored hired man named Henry Williams had been seized without right or legal process and sold into perpetual slavery South. William Dorsey had been taken from his wife and three children and lodged in the jail at Lancaster. A gang of three, who tried to take a maid servant from Moses Whitson's across the line in Chester County, were forcibly resisted by a lot of colored men under the lead of Ben. Whipper. The girl was rescued and her captors terribly, if not fatally, beaten on the Gap hill. A negro known as "Tom-up-in-the-barn," living near Gap, was said to have been captured one morning on his way to thresh at Caleb Brinton's, and never got back. The barn of Lindley Coates, in Sadsbury township, was burned in 1850 by miscreants angered at his denunciation of slave catchers and kidnappers.



"RETREAT FARM." HOME OF THE GORSUCHES.

It was also related that an industrious negro fence-maker had been violently carried off from his home on John McGowen's place in the valley, near Mars Hill, between Christiana and Quarryville. The narrator of this (Forbes' "True Story") does not tell whether the man was free or a fugitive slave; and to his outraged neighbors this distinction made little difference.

The incident of most note occurring in the immediate neighborhood, the influence of which lasted longest, the feeling about which was most acute, and which figured largely in the "Treason Trials" was what was stigmatized as "the outrage at Chamberlain's." Its scene was on the "Buck hill," in the northwestern part of Sadsbury township, on what is now known as the "Todd place," west of the back road from Gap to Christiana and in what was a sort of middle ground between the operations of the "Gap gang" and the refuge territory of the fugitives. Here in March 1851 a posse, claimed to be led by a rather notorious member of the "Gap gang," entered the Chamberlain house, severely beat a colored man named John Williams employed there, who made desperate resistance, terrified the members of the family, and carried off their bleeding victim in a wagon. It seems he was an escaped slave; but his captors exhibited no official warrant of arrest nor made any claim of authority except to declare they were acting for his master. It was believed he died from their ill treatment of him.

And there were reprisals! William Parker—of whom this narrative will have more to say—admitted years afterwards that he had helped to beat, fatally he believed, the captors of a colored girl; that he had tried to kill Allen Williams on suspicion that he had betrayed Henry; that he recaptured a kidnapped man on the West Chester road, after shooting at his captors and being himself shot in the ankle; and that he and his associates went to the home of a decoy negro, burned it down and watched to shoot him

with smooth-bore rifles "heavily charged" if the flames drove him into the open.

The leading people of this neighborhood were not only anti-slavery in sentiment, but they resented what seemed to be lawless invasion of their peaceful community; they were not afforded means of verifying the authenticity of the claims made for escaped slaves; the local people engaged in the business of aiding in slave hunting and slave nabbing were generally disreputable and sometimes themselves outlaws and criminals; farmers and mechanics were disturbed in their domestic service by the frequency with which attacks were made upon their many and useful colored employees and by the apprehensions to which they were all constantly exposed. Withal a sense of protection was felt in the fact that the most powerful leader of the bar of Lancaster County, and its representative in Congress Thaddeus Stevens, was outspoken in his denunciation of the Fugitive Slave Law. Political discussion and sentiment in this immediate locality, far more than in any other part of Lancaster County, was focusing upon open defiance of and even physical resistance to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law. As early as October 11, 1850, at a public meeting in Georgetown, Bart Township, four miles from the later scene of the riot—William L. Rakestraw presiding and Elwood Cooper Secretary—a committee consisting of Thomas Whitson, Elwood Cooper, Cyrus Manahan, Elwood Griest and Joseph McClelland, reported and published vigorous resolutions denouncing the fugitive slave bill, and declaring that they would "harbor, clothe, feed and aid the escape of fugitive slaves in opposition to the law."

This was the state of popular feeling and these were the social and political conditions prevailing in lower Lancaster County, when the Gorsuch party set out from Maryland to retake their escaped slaves by due and orderly processes of law—from which mission the elder Gorsuch returned a



THE GORSUCH CORN HOUSE.

mangled corpse and his son with a shot-riddled body; in the attempt to execute which the officers of the law were put to flight; out of which grew the arrest of two score men and the indictment of more persons for treason than were ever before or since tried for that crime in the United States; the acrimonious relations of two neighboring commonwealths for years; the open exultation of many persons over the killing and wounding of citizens engaged in a lawful undertaking, and the chagrin of many other orderly and law-abiding people that the law of the land had been violated in bloodshed and its officers successfully resisted.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ESCAPE AND PURSUIT OF THE SLAVES.

The Gorsuch Homestead and Its Proprietor — An Old and Prominent Maryland Family — The Runaways Absent for Nearly Two Years Before They were Pursued — The Warrants and Attempted Execution.

In Baltimore County, Maryland, on the west side of the York and Baltimore turnpike, south of Monkton, and north of Glencoe, stations of the North Central Railroad, stand today the farm buildings of the Gorsuch homestead, where and as they stood in 1849 and for a long time before. Their earlier owner, John Gorsuch, devised this estate to his nephew, Edward, with several hundred acres of land and a number of slaves. It was a provision of his will that certain of them should be free when they reached a fixed age. In 1849 one of them at least attained this condition. Jarret Wallace had during the period of his bondage so served his master and was so appreciated by him that after he became free Mr. Gorsuch retained him in his employ as his "market man" to sell his products in Baltimore. In November, 1849, he was building Wallace a tenant house, and John Wesley Knight (who now lives in York, aged 83) and Joshua Pitt, carpenters, were working for him at the time. He had also millwrights, boarding and sleeping there and then they were building him a saw mill on Piney Creek, which ran through his extensive farm. Four of his slaves were Noah Buley and Joshua Hammond — whose time was nearly up — and two younger, about twenty-one years old, named Nelson Ford and George Hammond who had six or seven years to serve. The man Ford was a rather delicate young fellow, and Mr. Gorsuch spared him heavy work.

He was the teamster of the place, but was always accompanied by help when he needed it. Buley is described as a copper colored mulatto and of treacherous disposition.

Mr. Gorsuch was a man of much prominence. He was a Whig in politics, a class leader in the Methodist church, a dignified and courtly gentleman in his manners, a just and accurate man in his business dealings, a kind hearted master and employer and a man of forceful and determined temperament. He was born April 17, 1795, and was, therefore, in his fifty-fifth year when his slaves escaped and in his fifty-seventh when he was killed. He was living with his second wife, and had five children of his first wife, two daughters and three sons, of whom the eldest, John S., was a Methodist clergyman, then residing in Washington, D. C. There is no portrait extant of the elder Gorsuch, but his son Dickinson resembled him.

In the fall of 1849 Mr. Gorsuch had his wheat stored in the corn house, a building which stood between the house and barn. The main barn fronts and adjoins the turnpike; the mansion house is some distance back of the road, reached by a shady lane and surrounded by lawn, orchards and out-buildings. In accordance with his habit Mr. Gorsuch kept careful account of his wheat in store and of the quantities withdrawn from time to time, as he made his grain all into flour at his own mill and retailed it in Baltimore. Having missed considerable of his stock, he made inquiry of a neighbor miller, Elias Matthews, who reported a lot of wheat sold to him by one Abe Johnson, a ne'er-do-well free negro living two miles north of Gorsuch's, who had no land to raise wheat nor credit to buy it. Gorsuch got out a warrant for his arrest, and it was put into the hands of Constable Bond for execution. He was laggard and "Bill" Foster who was something of a local terror to wrong-doers, was entrusted with the job. But Johnson got over into Pennsylvania, and Governor Johnston subsequently refused to honor a requisition for his extradition.

While the carpenters were building the tenant house and the millwrights were putting up the saw mill, in November, 1849, the negroes were cutting and topping the corn, hauling in the unshucked ears with ox-carts to the barn floor where, by aid of lanterns, the whole household, mechanics and slaves engaged nightly in husking bee merriment. Meantime news of Bill Foster's search for Abe Johnson were rife; likewise suspicious that the colored "boys" had helped him to raid the cornhouse and shared his spoils. One day they exhibited unwonted unrest and clustered into whispering groups; one expressed to the white workmen special anxiety to know "if the Boss is going to husk corn tonight," and another declared his purpose to set a rabbit trap, for it was "going to be a very dark night."

It was. There was no corn husking; and Knight, the carpenter, was aroused early by the call of Dickinson Gorsuch from down stairs that "the boys are all gone." They escaped through a skylight in the back building and made their way down a ladder and up the York turnpike. When the Gorsuches next saw any of them it was in the flash and fire of the Christiana Riot, in the early dawn of September 11, 1851, at Parker's cabin.

During the interval, however, reports reached the Gorsuches from time to time of their whereabouts; messages came from the runaways soliciting food supplies and other aid, which were sent upon assurances of their return. Mr. Gorsuch had such confidence in his benevolence as their master that he always believed if he could meet or communicate directly with them he could get them back. They soon found their way into the vicinity of Christiana where they "worked around" and were known by various aliases; after nearly two years sojourn thereabouts their ownership became known to those who made gain of such information.

The personal narrative of Peter Woods, survivor, leaves little room for doubt as to their identity and their residence

around Christiana. He says: "They lived here among us adjoining me. One lived with Joseph Pownall. His name was John Beard. He was a little brown-skinned fellow—a pleasant chap. The other three were known to us as Thomas Wilson, Alexander Scott and Edward Thompson; Scott was a tall yellow-colored fellow, with straight hair. The colored fellows met at Parker's nearly every Sunday. A good many got their washing done there. He had an apple-butter party about the time of the riot. We knew that these new colored fellows were escaped slaves. They were about the Riot House and in our neighborhood a couple of years before the riot. We colored fellows were all sworn in to keep secret what we knew and when these fellows came there they were sworn in too. Scott told how they four happened to run away. He said he brought them with him in a big wagon to Baltimore, or he said he had come with a big load of grain for his master. He put them on the cars at Baltimore, then sent his master's team back and took the next train too, and that way they come up among the Quakers in this country which they knew was a good point on the underground railway. The people who owned these slaves or some of them sent men up into this country some time before. One man came to me one day while I was cradling wheat and said, 'You are a little man to cradle wheat, I am trying to find three or four big colored men to cut wheat for me. Can you tell me if there are any here that I can get?' I knew what he was after, that he was looking for escaped negroes, and I did not give him much satisfaction." The "John Beard" whom Woods knew was Gorsuch's boy Nelson Ford—so he told Cyrus Brinton.

From Penningtonville (now Atglen, near Christiana), August 29, 1851, there was mailed to "Mr. Edward Gorsuch, Hereford P. O., Balt. Co., M. D.," a letter which was found upon and taken from his body after he was killed; the following is a copy:

LANCASTER, Co. 28 August 1851.

Respected friend, I have the required
 Information of four men that is within
 Two miles of each other. now the best
 Way is for you to come as A hunter
 Disguised about two days ahead of your son and let him come
 By way of Philadelphia and get the deputy marshal John
 Nagle I think is his name. tell him the situation
 And he can get force of the right kind it will take
 About twelve so that they can divide and take them
 All within half an hour. now if you can come on the 2d or 3d
 of September come on & I will
 Meet you at the gap when you get their
 Inquire for Benjamin Clay's tavern let
 Your son and the marshal get out
 Kinyer's* hotel now if you cannot come
 At the time spoken of write very soon
 And let me know when you can
 I wish you to come as soon as you possibly can

Very respectfully thy friend

WILLIAM M. P.

(In pencil) WM M PADGETT.

* Kinzey's.

About the same time there had come into Gorsuch's locality a man (whose name is not known), purporting to be from lower Lancaster County, who claimed to be able to locate a number of slaves escaped from Baltimore County, among them one of Dr. Pearce, who had escaped the same night as Gorsuch's. Dr. Pearce was a son of the elder Gorsuch's married sister Belinda.

Acting upon these reports and under the authority of the new Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, Edward Gorsuch, his son, Dickinson, his nephew, Dr. Thomas Pearce, Nicholas Hutchings and Nathan Nelson, neighbors and friends, came to Pennsylvania to recover the slaves. Under date of September 9, 1851, the owner procured from Edward D. Ingraham, United States Commissioner at Philadelphia, four warrants directed to Henry H. Kline, Deputy United States Marshal, to apprehend the fugitives. About the attempt and failure

to execute those warrants, or any of them, circle the Christiana Riot and the Treason Trials of 1851.

According to Dickinson Gorsuch's diary his father left for Philadelphia "on the express train," Monday, September 8, 1851, and the others followed next day. The warrants had meantime issued and the Maryland party met at Parkesburg on Wednesday, September 10. By arrangement Constables John Agan and "Sheriff's Officer" Thompson Tully of Philadelphia had come on to Parkesburg; Deputy Marshal Kline went separately by rail to West Chester, took a vehicle to Gallagherville, and started thence for Penningtonville [now Atglen]. His wagon broke down; he and his man Gallagher hired another vehicle and reached Penningtonville about midnight; his delay caused the party to disconnect. Agan and Tully and the Gorsuches stayed at Parkesburg. Meantime a light young colored man, named Samuel Williams, of Seventh Street, below Lombard, Philadelphia, recognized Kline at Penningtonville; he likely scented his real errand, and when Kline represented that he was after two horse thieves, Williams told him they had left. When Kline started for Gap he was followed by some one whom he suspected to be Williams, and Williams no doubt sounded a general alarm as to Kline's errand. He had been dispatched for that purpose from Philadelphia, where a Vigilant Committee was on the lookout to protect fugitives. It was also told by John Criley on information from Henry Murr, blacksmith, that Joseph Scarlet, from a business trip to Philadelphia early in the week, had brought like tidings into the neighborhood.

Kline and his associate slept at Houston's hotel, Gap, on Wednesday night and returned early next morning to Parkesburg, where they found Agan and Tully; the Gorsuch people had gone over to Sadsbury on the old Philadelphia turnpike and Kline rejoined them: Gorsuch went to Parkesburg to detain the Philadelphia officers, and Kline went to

Downingtown and thence to Gallagherville, where the entire searching party met, except Tully and Agan, who returned finally to Philadelphia. About eleven o'clock at night the party went from Gallagherville to Downingtown, took the cars there after midnight, came through to Gap, where they got off the train and went down the railroad track. About 2 A.M. they met Padgett (his name was not mentioned at the trial). Presumably they joined him and left the railroad at the grade crossing of a public road to Smyrna, formerly known as the "Brown House," which stood at the northeast corner of the intersection. Padgett was a farm hand at Murray's, the stone house at the top of the hill, between Gap and Christiana on the Brown farm. The Murrays had lived in Baltimore County, Md. There their local guide led them, likely by or at least toward Smyrna and through cornfields to the Valley Road, where the "long lane" led southward through Levi Pownall's farm to the Noble Road, across the Valley and near to Pownall's tenant house on the southern slope, where William Parker and his brother-in-law Pinckney lived.

CHAPTER V.

THE DEFENSE AND DEFENDERS.

William Parker and His Home — A Leader of His Race and Class —
The Hero of the Fugitive Slaves and the Champion of Their Resistance to Recapture — The Night Before the Fight.

To those who sympathized with resistance to the execution of the warrants, and rejoiced in the results of the battle to the death made by the refugees, the hero of the event was William Parker. His home was "where the battle was fought," and he was then and had been long before a leader of his race and the most resolute defender of the runaway slaves in that section. He was a man of force and had strong though untutored intellectual qualities. After the war for the Union, in which he served, he inspired some articles for the *Atlantic Monthly*, in 1866, from which this story will later be amplified, and upon the occasion of a revisit nearly forty years ago to Christiana he gave some account of himself to old friends thereabouts.

He was born opposite Queen Anne, in Anne Arundel County, Maryland. His mother was Louisa Simms, who died when he was young, and his only parental care was from his grandmother. His mother was one of the seventy field hands of Major William Brogdon, of "Rodown" plantation; and six years after the old master died, when his sons David and William divided his plantation and slaves, William Parker fell to David and to his estate "Nearo." There he had kind treatment, until slave traders came and a slave sale occurred, followed by others with their cruel and pathetic separation of families. Then he realized the bitterness of slavery and the blessings of freedom. He set out for the North by Baltimore, with his brother as a companion.

They reached York and Wrightsville, crossed the river to Columbia in a boat and he settled down to farm work near Lancaster at \$3 per month; while his brother moved on to the eastern part of the County. Later William got employment with Dr. Obadiah Dingee, a warm sympathizer, who lived near Georgetown and was the father of the venerable Charles Dingee, of West Grove nursery and rose culture fame. While there Parker had access to anti-slavery periodicals and he heard William Lloyd Garrison and Frederick Douglass speak; he caught inspiration from them to organize his fellows, fugitive and free, in that community to resist recapture and repel assaults upon their race.

It has been already told, upon his own testimony, how they operated. Parker was involved in many other affrays. In a rescue riot on the streets of Lancaster on one occasion he proved himself a man of great strength and valor; he was recognized by whites and blacks as a towering figure. Daniel Gibbons sent Eliza Ann Howard, another refugee, to Dr. Dingee's and she became Parker's wife; her sister followed and married his associate Alex. Pinckney. They all lived together, and at the time the Gorsuch party came for their slaves Parker and Pinckney were running a horse-power threshing machine for Joseph Scarlet and George Whitson. Their families lived together in the tenant house, just to the east of the "long lane" on the Levi Pownall farm, later owned by Marion Griest, and now by Mrs. Agnes Lantz. It was a place for frequent foregatherings of the colored people in that day. No trace of the little old stone house is left, but sketches of it were made before the obliteration. The news spread by Sam Williams of Kline's visit reached Parker's house the evening before the officers. Besides Pinckney, Josh Kite, Samuel Thompson and Abraham Johnson were there. Sam Hopkins, who died recently, always related that there was an apple-butter boiling at Parker's that night, and the merry-makers danced around the kettle and fire singing a song the refrain of which was

“Take me back to Canada,
Where de’ cullud people’s free.”

The men named and the Parker and Pinckney sisters were there all night at least. That the negroes were armed not only appears from subsequent events, but it might be inferred from Parker’s own account of his habit. He was long reticent as to the details of the final encounter; but there is ample proof that of the Gorsuch slaves Noah Buley was there very early on the day of the affray, and at least two others of the Gorsuch slaves were on the ground soon after. The names taken by fugitives were so uncertain that the “Abraham Johnson” of this occasion may or may not have been the Baltimore County freeman of that name who fled from Gorsuch’s warrant in 1849. Some of the Gorsuch party so identified him. It is beyond doubt that the concourse of colored men already gathered at Parker’s house when the Kline-Gorsuch squad arrived were assembled by design, upon some call or signal; that their leaders knew the objective point was the arrest then and there of the Baltimore County runaways; and they soon had added force large enough and brave enough to resist, defeat and either kill, wound or drive off the officers and owners.

CHAPTER VI.

THE FIGHT.

The Challenge to Surrender and the Defiance — A Long Parley — The Prompt Response to a Call for Aid — The Firing Begins — Flight of Kline and his Deputies — Gorsuch is Killed and his Son Terribly Wounded.

Padgett, guide and informer, led the Southern and Federal forces to within about a quarter mile of the Parker house, where they stopped at a little stream crossing the long lane, ate some crackers and cheese and "fixed their ammunition." It was then just about daybreak; it was a heavy, foggy morning; and Padgett found it was his time to withdraw. As the party drew near to the short lane which led into the house and little garden-orchard around it they were seen by Nelson Ford and Joshua Hammond, two of the Gorsuch slaves who had evidently been picketed. They retreated to the house; Gorsuch and Kline followed and the Marshal officially announced their errand. Some inmate of the house answered that the men called for were not there; and when Kline, as he testified, went to go up the stairs, followed by the elder Gorsuch, a five-pronged fish "gig" was thrown at him; next came a flying axe. Neither missile hit him; he and Mr. Gorsuch withdrew, and he says a shot was fired at them from the house and he returned the fire. Then Kline made a feint of sending off for a hundred men "to scare the negroes." His bluff had that temporary effect and a parley ensued. During this it was made manifest that a considerable number of armed men were in Parker's house.

Meantime, on their way, the officers had heard a bugle blown; conjectures differed whether it was a signal from the Parker house or a summons for the laborers on the railroad

to go to work. The evidence on this point was not positive, but the besieged soon sounded their horn from the upper story. Parker is quoted as saying that Kline threatened to burn the house, and he defied him to do it; that Mrs. Parker sounded a horn which brought their allies; and the deputies fired at her as she sounded it, without causing her to desist; that Pinckney counselled surrender, but Parker was for fight. Parker's own accounts show no lack of self-assertion nor absence of self-confidence. That may or may not enhance their credibility.

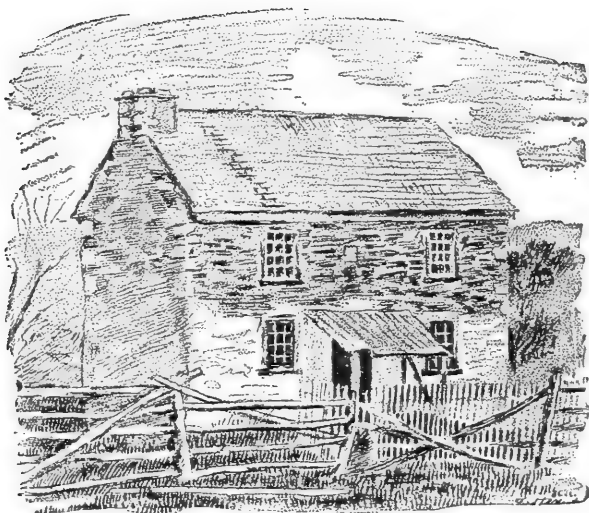
Some early summons called a mixed mob together, for while the brief events already described were occurring, Castner Hanway, who lived a full mile away, rode up on a bald-faced sorrel horse; Elijah Lewis came on foot in his shirt sleeves and a straw hat; Zeke Thompson, the Indian negro, arrived with a scythe in one hand and a revolver in the other; Noah Buley rode in on a handsome gray horse and carrying a gun; Harvey Scott was there, weaponless; and a half score of others armed with guns, scythes and clubs, were assembled—far more than the upstairs of that little cabin could have held, even without the women. Other white men came trooping along, who in Parker's imagination were Gap gangsters enrolled by Kline as "special constables"; but there is no satisfactory proof that these were anybody but residents of the vicinage attracted to the place by the commotion.

The excitement and confusion that subsequently ensued, the quick succession of tragic events, the prompt retreat of the officers and the almost immediate flight from the vicinity of their guiltiest assailants, and the fact that none of them remained or ever returned to tell the whole story, combine to make it difficult even now to aver with certainty what next actually happened. It is, however, reasonably sure that Hanway and Lewis were called upon to interfere and aid in executing the warrants and they declined to do so; but they

neither advised nor inspired any violence; nor does it appear that they arrived on the scene by any pre-arrangement or otherwise than from hearing that an attempt was being made by some one to take negroes from the Parker house.

Parker says Dickinson Gorsuch opened the next stage of the battle by firing at him in resentment of a supposed insult to his father, and that he knocked the pistol out of Young Gorsuch's hand before "fighting commenced in earnest," and the outside negroes then shot both Gorsuches. Deputy Kline, who made himself somewhat ridiculous on the witness stand, remembered most vividly how he himself went "over the fence and out" through the cornfield and did not very clearly account for the fatal renewal of hostilities. Joshua Gorsuch testified that as Edward Gorsuch started to the house in answer to Kline's call to him to come on and get his property, his uncle was murderously assaulted with clubs and he fired a revolver to save his kinsman, but his cap burst and the weapon did not go off; he was severely beaten and ran for his life, the infuriated crowd pursuing him; a thick felt hat saved his life and he rode off from the battlefield behind some one on a horse, supposing Edward and Dickinson Gorsuch were already killed; his retreat ended only at York; but it was months before he recovered from his wounds.

Whoever else ran or stayed, the Gorsuches, father and son, stood their ground and took the enemy's fire. Dickinson warned the elder that they would be overpowered; but when the parent declined to retreat the son stayed by him until he was himself clubbed and shot down, as he went to the rescue of his assaulted father. Eighty shot penetrated Dickinson's arms, thigh and body—and many of them stayed there; so that when he died in 1882—thirty-one years after he was shot—his body prepared for burial was "pitted like a sponge" with the marks of the "Christiana Riot." When he was supposed to be dying Dickinson Gorsuch was taken into the shade of a big oak tree, about fifty yards from where the small lane then entered the "long lane."



THE OLD RIOT HOUSE. WILLIAM PARKER'S HOME.

THE PLACE WHERE THE BATTLE WAS FOUGHT.

Dr. Pearce was hit with a missile from an upper window; Nathan Nelson knew and recognized Buley, one of the run-aways, and while, at the outset, only fifteen or twenty negroes were lined in the lane with guns, scythes, clubs and corn cutters, Nelson saw from seventy-five to a hundred before the smoke of battle had entirely cleared. Sam Hopkins and his historic corn cutter were among the later arrivals.

One of the dramatic features of the engagement was the appearance on the field of old Isaiah Clarkson. He summoned fifteen or twenty infuriated and raging negroes into the cornfield and "called them to order" three times before he could quiet them, and withhold them from violence. Meantime old Clarkson had seen the body of Edward Gorsuch lying alone where he fell dead, clubbed, cut and pierced with gun shots, his son desperately wounded; his kinsmen beaten and driven off; the United States deputies marshal in full retreat — infuriated women, forgetful of all humane instincts, revenging on a humane Christian gentleman's lifeless body the wrongs their race had suffered from masters of altogether different mould, rushed from the house and with corn cutters and scythe blades hacked the bleeding and lifeless body as it lay in the garden walk. At the first hearing Scott, the witness who afterwards swore differently on the trial, testified that he lived with John Kerr and had stayed at Parker's out of doors in the road all that night, having been persuaded to go there by John Morgan and Henry Simms, who were armed; that he saw them both shoot and Henry Simms shot Gorsuch; that John Morgan cut him in the head with a corn cutter after he fell. Dr. Pearce stated under oath that he saw Noah Buhly running past Gorsuch, but he could not say that Buhly did the shooting. At the time Edward Gorsuch was shot he was standing still calling his nephew Joshua and had no weapon in his hand.

It will never be known whose shot or how many killed

Edward Gorsuch. More than one weapon was directed at him and doubtless several were guilty of his blood. It was not long until a consciousness of this fell upon the mob and they scattered as rapidly as they had assembled. If the Federal deputies had dispersed in fear and flight and the local authorities were slow to move, neither were the guilty laggard in flight. By nightfall every man inmate of Parker's house and every runaway from Baltimore County were on their way to Canada. Hay mows and straw stacks weltered above the throbbing presence of trembling fugitives; and all the local agencies of rapid news and transportation which were at command of the anti-slavery people were set in motion to get and keep the accused in advance of the warrants. Somebody tarried long enough on the Parker premises to despoil Gorsuch's body of \$300 or \$400 in money, which was on his person when he fell and which was missing at the coroner's inquest. According to Tamsy Brown it was taken from his body by a black man, who divided it among the colored women and Abe Johnson. On a blank leaf of the Padgett letter, heretofore printed, were found some memoranda made by Mr. Gorsuch himself of the railroad schedules and names of persons in the neighborhood of the scene of the affray, with whom it was supposed colored men resided, together with the following:

Robert M. Lee
John Agen Henry H. Cline
Depatised
Marshal Kline
Lawyer Lee
and Benit
Commissioner
Ingraham
O. Riley's Telegraph
avoid Halzel
Councelman
Cpt. Shutt
J. R. Henson.

The significance of these entries will be recognized. No weapons were found on the body. This of course does not prove that Mr. Gorsuch was unarmed, as he easily might have lost or have been despoiled of his arms. Fred Douglass boasted that Gorsuch's pistol had been presented to him. His family believe, and from his habits of life and temperament it may be presumed, the elder Gorsuch was unarmed. He depended mainly on the force of the law's warrant and, perhaps too confidently, on the nerve of the Federal deputies marshal.

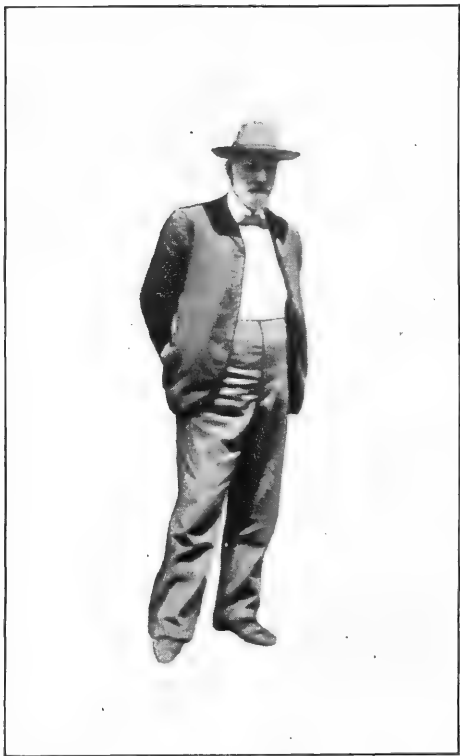
Dickinson Gorsuch was soon removed to friendly shelter and tender ministrations under the hospitable roof of Levi Pownall's homestead. There he learned to know that the Quaker families of the valley, while they were considerate of the slave, could be no less kind to the master in distress. The daily entries of his diary attest his gratitude and appreciation, and these he substantially manifested throughout his lifetime. His contemporaneous portrait herein published was taken from a daguerreotype sent to the Pownall family. Dr. Asher Pusey Patterson, who attended him, was then practicing at Smyrna. He was of the Lower End families whose names he bore. Dr. John L. Atlee, Sr., of Lancaster, was called into consultation.

During Dickinson Gorsuch's stay in the Pownall household he was visited in his convalescence by many of his Baltimore County friends and relatives. Among them were his brother John S.; his uncle Talbott Gorsuch; his sister Mary (afterwards Mrs. Morrison); his cousin George and others. It was ten days before he could eat and nearly three weeks before he could sit up. By October 1 he could take a short drive and was entertained next day at Ambrose Pownall's. When he returned home in charge of some of his family on October 4, Dr. Patterson accompanied them as far as Columbia. During his recovery he had no more popular visitor than his friend Alex. Morrison, who subsequently

married his sister. Morrison is described by the older inhabitants as one who "made friends everywhere." He kept up his acquaintance with people about Christiana until his death and visited there as late as 1903. He rejoiced in the establishment of good relations between those who had been on opposite sides of the conflict of 1851. Dickinson Gorsuch was 56 years old when he died, August 2, 1882.

Exactly when and how Parker, Pinckney and the fugitive slaves got away from the neighborhood is difficult to tell with absolute certainty; but a surviving neighbor throws light on their movements immediately after the affray. George Steele, now living in Chester County (who subsequently married Elizabeth, daughter of Levi W. Pownall), was making charcoal iron at the Sadsbury forges in 1851. He lived near by the Parker place and recalls the events with great distinctness. He met some negroes coming from the scene exultant over its results and he warned them of their serious danger. He says Parker first came to Pownall's to arrange for Dickinson Gorsuch's removal there, but another neighbor was already on the way with the wounded man. Both Parker and Pownall remained hidden all day; the news of young Gorsuch's serious condition brought many visitors to the Pownall house; later in the evening Parker and Pinckney themselves called and for the first time seemed to realize their position. Some of the women members of the household warned them; and, while Mrs. Pownall was nursing the wounded man to life, she was sparing of her pantry supplies to fill a "pillow case" with food for the fugitives; and her husband, under whose roof Gorsuch was receiving every kind attention, loaned of his clothing to their disguise—all being carried to them by George Pownall, then a boy, who was directed to find them at a certain apple tree on the farther side of the orchard.

At the "Riot House" the Pownalls found both Pinckney's and Parker's loaded guns; and they prudently burned a lot of



A SOUTHERN VISITOR.

COL. ALEXANDER MORRISON, FRIEND AND KINSMAN OF THE GORSUCHES, WHO KEPT UP FRIENDLY RELATIONS WITH THE POWNALL FAMILY.

letters found there, which would have incriminated some of their neighbors in violation of the Fugitive Slave Law. The Pownalls later received anonymous information that Parker had reached Canada. Gorsuch himself is said to have expressed kindly feeling for Parker, which bears out the theory that Parker tried to stem the riot after it attained a deadly stage.

Even they who were guiltless of their neighbor's blood were not unmindful of the responsibility imposed upon their community by the violent killing of Gorsuch and the escape of his slayers. His dead body was taken to Christiana and lay at Fred Zercher's hotel, where Harrar's store now is and nearly opposite the Commemoration Monument. There a coroner's inquest was held before noon. The main facts of the riot were related by Kline, "Harvey" Scott (who later recanted), and others. John Bodley and Jake Woods testified that Elijah Lewis passed them in the early morning, when they were working at James Cooper's, and that Lewis said "William Parker's house was surrounded by kidnappers and it was no time to take out potatoes."

The coroner's jury, summoned by Joseph D. Pownall, Esq., consisted of George Whitson, John Rowland, E. Osborne Dare, Hiram Kinnard, Samuel Miller, Lewis Cooper, George Firth, William Knott, John Hillis, William H. Millhouse, Joseph Richwine and Miller Knott. Their finding was:

"That on the morning of the 11th inst., the neighborhood was thrown into an excitement by the above deceased, and some five or six persons in company with him, making an attack upon a family of colored persons, living in said Township, near the Brick Mill, about 4 o'clock in the morning, for the purpose of arresting some fugitive slaves as they alleged, many of the colored people of the neighborhood collected, and there was considerable firing of guns and other fire-arms by both parties, upon the arrival of some of the

neighbors at the place, after the riot had subsided, found the above deceased, lying upon his back or right side dead. Upon a post mortem examination upon the body of the said deceased, made by Drs. Patterson and Martin, in our presence, we believe he came to his death by gun shot wounds that he received in the above mentioned riot, caused by some person or persons to us unknown."

Dr. John Martin and Dr. A. P. Patterson reported officially that Gorsuch came to his death by a gunshot wound made by slug or heavy shot, occupying the upper part of the right breast, and that there was an incision found near the frontal bone, produced by a light sharp instrument, and a fracture of the left humerus by some blunt weapon.

It must be conceded, even at this distance in time, the jury's thermometer of popular indignation at the crime scarcely registered above the mark of "cold neutrality."

Scharf's history of Baltimore County states that on September 13th and 15th meetings of citizens of Baltimore County were held to take action in the premises. Wm. H. Freeman, John Wethered, Samuel Worthington, Wm. Matthews, Wm. Taggart, John B. Pearce, Samuel H. Taggart, Wm. Fell Johnson, Wm. H. Hoffman, Edward S. Myers, John Merryman, and Henry Carroll were appointed a committee to collect all the facts in the case and transmit them to Governor Lowe, in order that he might lay them before the President of the United States. Another committee, consisting of John B. Holmes, Levi K. Bowen, Dr. Nicholas Hutchins, J. M. McComas, and E. Parsons, was appointed to confer with the gentlemen who had accompanied Mr. Gorsuch into Pennsylvania. A meeting at Slader's tavern, on September 15th, passed resolutions calling upon the people of each district of the county to elect delegates to meet at Cockeysville on October 4th for the purpose of forming a county association, and recommending the formation of district associations "for the protection of the people in their

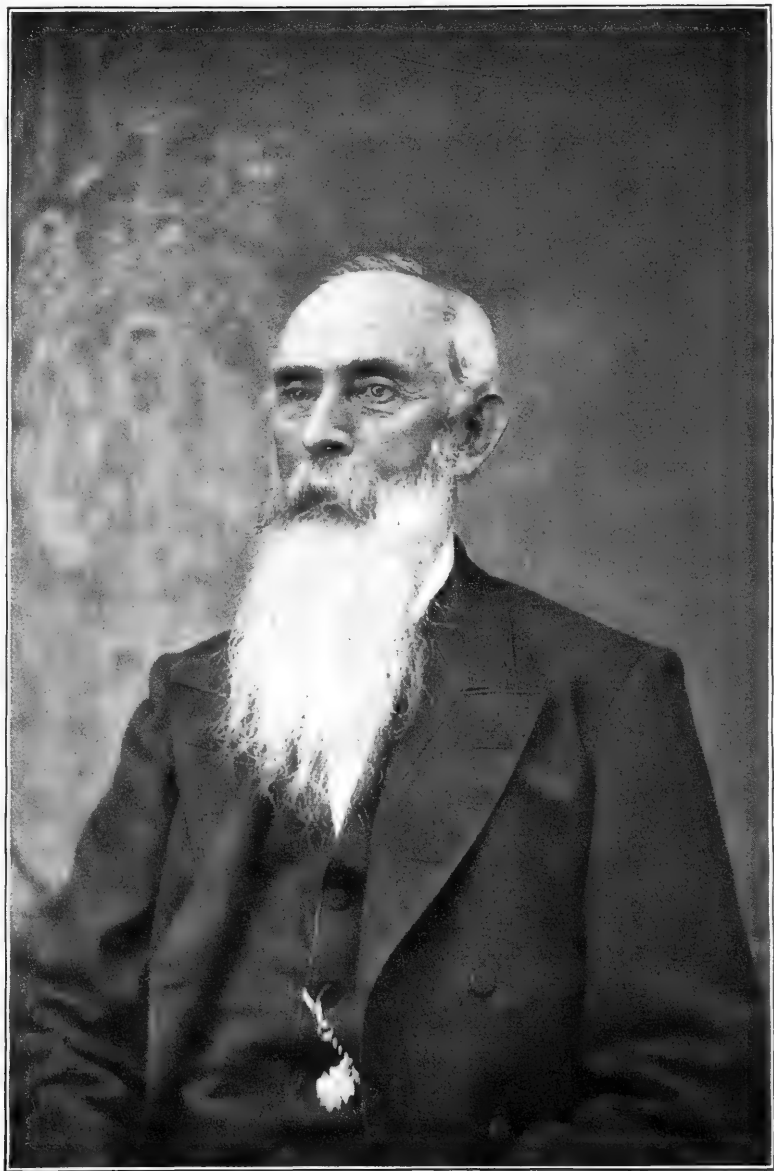
slave and other property." An indignation meeting of six thousand persons was held at Monument Square, Baltimore City, on September 15th, at which Hon. John H. T. Jerome presided, and addresses were made by Z. Collins Lee, Coleman Yellott, Francis Gallagher, Samuel H. Taggart, and Col. George W. Hughes.

CHAPTER VII.

THE "PURSUIT" AND ARRESTS.

Federal and State Authorities in Conflict—"Rough Riding" the Valley—Numerous and Indiscriminate Arrests—Hearings in Lancaster and Committals to Philadelphia.

Whatever anybody was doing in the way of vindicating whatever law or laws had been violated, the perpetrators of the killing were being allowed to escape. There were no daily newspapers in Lancaster then and the Philadelphia journals of Friday, September 12th, had very meagre accounts of the affair. But meantime the Federal officials in Philadelphia and the Commonwealth authorities in Lancaster County "got busy." Constable William Proudfoot, of Sadsbury, acted under the direction of 'Squire Pownall and District Attorney John L. Thompson. In Philadelphia John M. Ashmead was United States Attorney, and Anthony E. Roberts was Marshal. When District Attorney Thompson made his second visit to the scene on Saturday following the riot, accompanied by a "strong party of armed men," he found there the United States Marshal, District Attorney and Commissioner "with a strong force of U. S. Marines and a detachment of the Philadelphia police." A controversy arose between the local District Attorney Thompson and the United States Attorney Ashmead as to whether the prisoners should be held for murder in Lancaster County, or for treason against the United States. Commissioner Ingraham sustained the latter charge. The difficulty was adjusted by an agreement that each party should make its own arrests. Some forty-five United States Marines who went to Christiana were in command of Lieutenants Watson and Jones. United States Marshal A. E. Roberts had a civil posse of



CASTNER HANWAY.

TRIED FOR TREASON AND ACQUITTED.

fifty. There were county constables and deputies sheriff on the scene. With these three detachments landed in a little country village and scouring the surrounding farms, of whose inhabitants half the many blacks had fled the State and the other half were in hiding, and the whites mostly suspected of sympathy with the fugitives, a local reign of terror ensued; "the valley" was in a state worse than subjection to martial law. The tendency of a "little brief authority" is toward abuse of it; and the class of persons easily secured for the service then required of temporary officers of the law was not such as to insure delicacy of treatment or tender consideration for the objects against whom their summary processes were directed. Whites and blacks, bond and free, were rather roughly handled; few households in the region searched were safe from rude intrusion; many suffered terrifying scenes and sounds.

Peter Woods, sole surviving sufferer and prisoner of the occasion, was working for Joseph Scarlet when he and his employer were arrested. He tells his story thus to the author of this history:

"The day the fight happened I was up very early. We were to have 'a kissing party' that night for Henry Roberts; and as I wanted to get off early I asked my boss, Joe Scarlet, if he would plough if I got up ahead and spread the manure. I started at it at two o'clock. The morning was foggy and dull. About daylight Elijah Lewis's son came running to me while I was getting my work done, and said the kidnappers were here. They came to Ellis Irvin's farm, and then to Milt Cooper's which is known as the Leaman farm. The morning of the riot I got there about seven or eight o'clock. I met some of them coming out of the lane, and others were on a run from the house. I met Hanway on a bald-faced sorrel horse coming down the long lane, and his party with him. The other party, the marshal and his people, took to the sprouts, licking out for all they could, and then took the

Noble road. There were about sixty of our fellows chasing them. The strange party got away. I got hurt by being kicked by a blind colt on the hip. The shooting was all over. Gorsuch had been killed before I got there. The Gorsuch party was riding away as fast as they could. I guess I am the last man living of our party.

"When Scarlet was arrested they were rough in arresting him. They took him by the throat, and pointed bayonets at him all around him. I said to myself if you arrest a white man like that, I wonder what you will do to a black boy? The arrests were made a day or two after the riot. I was plowing or working the ground, and when I saw the officers come to make the arrests, I quickly got unhitched and went towards Bushong's, and soon there was six of us together and we went to Dr. Dingee's graveyard and hid. We heard a racket of horses coming and then we jumped into the graveyard. This was two days after the riot. We hung around Rakestraw's too; and he said we could have something to eat, but we couldn't stay around there. Then they got us. They asked George Boone and James Noble who we are. The man with the mace, the marshal I guess, said 'I got a warrant for Peter Woods.' They pointed me out and then he struck me and then they tried to throw me. They arrested me and took me up a flight of stairs, and then they tied me. Then they started away with me and tried to get me over a fence. They had me tied around my legs and around my breast, and they put me in a buggy and took me to Christiana. From there they took me to Lancaster, and put me first in the old jail and then in the new prison."

The accuracy of Woods' narrative is attested by the historical record that at that very time the new Lancaster County prison was just ready for occupancy. The first prisoners were transferred to it on the day immediately following the riot—September 12, 1851.

Woods' further story of what occurred at Christiana has

all the marks of verity: "There at Christiana was [David] Paul Brown and Thad. Stevens and Mr. Black. They had quarters in 'Old Harry's' store. We did not know who they were counsel for, and we thought they were threatening us, and trying to make us give away ourselves. Thad. Stevens or some one said to me: 'Who do you live with?' They had just brought me down from the Harry garret, and Fred Zercher was there. Mr. Brown then asked me again how I got up there into that garret, who put me there? I made up my mind not to talk, and Brown said, 'If you don't tell we will send you to jail.' Then a mutiny broke out there. George Boone and Proudfoot and others got in it. George commenced striking and I got knocked over. Boone was taking my part."

Arrests were numerous and somewhat indiscriminate and the charges varied, some relating to State and others to Federal laws, and many of them involving capital crimes and death penalties. All of them called for appearances and preliminary hearings before J. Franklin Reigart, Esq., an alderman of Lancaster City. He was a cousin of the late Emanuel C. Reigart, Esq., and mingled the pursuits of letters and law. His handsome picture in lithograph is the frontispiece of his somewhat bizarre biography of Robert Fulton, now something of a curio, once the ornament of many centre tables in Lancaster County.

Alderman Reigart was kept busy for some time issuing warrants and having hearings that attracted great attention, numerous and distinguished lawyers and ever increasing popular interest. Among those taken into custody were Elijah Lewis, storekeeper at Cooperville; Joseph Scarlet, farmer and dealer; Castner Hanway, miller at the "Red Mill"; James Jackson, farmer; Samuel Kendig, all white; and a large number of colored men and women, among them, William Brown and William Brown, 2d, Ezekiel Thompson, Daniel Caulsberro, Emanuel Smith, John Dobbins, Lewis

James Christman, Elijah Clark, Benjamin Pendegress, Jonathan Black, Samuel Hanson, Mifflin Flanders, Wilson Jones, Francis Hawkins, Benjamin Thompson, John Halliday, Elizabeth Mosey, John Morgan, boy, Joseph Benn, John Norton, Lewis Smith, George Washington, Harvey Scott, Susan Clark, Tamsy Brown, Eliza Parker, Hannah Pinckney, Robert Johnston, Miller Thompson, Isaiah Clarkson and Jonathan Black. The officers claimed to have captured on the persons or premises of some of them heavily charged guns, dirks and clubs.

The examination of the persons charged before Alderman Reigart for complicity in the affair began in the old Lancaster County Court House, in Centre Square, on Tuesday, September 23, at 11 o'clock A.M. The appearances at this hearing for the prosecution were Attorney General R. T. Brent, of Maryland, John M. Ashmead, United States Attorney, District Attorney John L. Thompson, Colonel William B. Fordney and Attorney General Thomas E. Franklin. For the defense, Thaddeus Stevens, George Ford, O. J. Dickey and George M. Kline appeared.

The testimony of Dr. Pearce, Milton Knott and Deputy Marshal Kline was relied upon to make out a *prima facie* case. It was at this hearing George Washington Harvey Scott, a colored man (who subsequently changed his testimony in Philadelphia, and swore he was not even at Parker's), testified that he saw Henry Simms shoot Edward Gorsuch, and that John Morgan afterwards cut him on the head with a corn cutter. Lewis Cooper testified that John Long, colored, was on his premises the evening before the occurrence "giving notice." He was with Henry Reynolds. Long was described as a dark mulatto, five and one-half feet high, and of slender make. The District Attorney argued that the offense was treason, and asked that the persons be committed to answer at the Circuit Court of the United States. Mr. Stevens made the opening speech before the Alderman,

claiming that the defendant prisoners, especially Lewis and Hanway, had not been identified as criminals or offenders; he dwelt upon the local kidnappings that had occurred in the night time, and charged William Bear and Perry Marsh with participation in these offenses; he produced many witnesses to the affair and to prove an alibi for some of the colored men, especially John Morgan, and nothing worse than inaction by Hanway and Lewis.

The women were all discharged; and some of the men. The names of those who were remanded to Philadelphia to await trial in the Federal Courts for treason, together with some others subsequently held, and some indicted in their absence and never apprehended, will be found in the report of the trial later in this history. James Jackson, father of William Jackson, now of Christiana was so well known to Marshal Roberts that he was released "on parole," though subsequently indicted for treason. Mrs. Parker and Mrs. Pinckney left the vicinity and made their way to their husbands in Canada.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE POLITICAL AFTERMATH.

Partisans Quick to Make Capital out of the Occurrence — The Democrats Aggressive — The “Silver Grays” Apologetic, and the “Woolly Heads” on the Defensive — Effect of the Christiana Incident on the October Elections.

Thaddeus Stevens in September, 1851, was serving his second term as Representative of the Lancaster County district. As an antagonist of Southern ideas relating to slavery, he “strode down the aisles” of the House with a good deal more erectness of bearing than Ingersoll in his famous nominating speech ascribed to the “Plumed Knight” from Maine; and he struck the shield of his adversaries with a much louder ring than was given out at the impact of Mr. Blaine’s lance. To his individual and official view — law or no law, constitution or no constitution — slavery was “a violation of the rights of man as a man” — freedom was the law of nature. Like Mirabeau, “he swallowed all formulas.” But he was a lawyer, as well as a politician and moralist, and while he announced his “unchangeable hostility to slavery in every form in every place,” he also avowed his “determination to stand by all the compromises of the constitution and carry them into faithful effect” — much as he disliked some of them, they were not “now open for consideration,” nor would he disturb them. This again was practically an admission of the abstract legal right of the master to reclaim the fugitive.

Mr. Stevens was first elected to Congress in 1848, when Gen. Zachariah Taylor was elected President, and when he died (July 9, 1850), and Fillmore, Vice President and a Northern Whig, succeeded him, Stevens had been elected to a second term, which lasted until March 4, 1853.

In those "good old days" a Congressman had some influence in the matter of Federal appointments. The United States Marshal, who executed warrants and picked jurors in Eastern Pennsylvania, was Stevens' personal and political friend, Anthony E. Roberts. Mr. Roberts, who was a native of Chester County, was then 48 years of age and long a prominent citizen of New Holland. He had been sheriff of Lancaster County elected in 1839 as an avowed anti-Masonic candidate, favored by Stevens. He was with him an active anti-Mason and was a candidate for Congress in 1843, but was beaten by Jeremiah Brown. President Taylor appointed him Marshal in 1849, and he filled the office until the incoming of Pierce's administration.

The *Intelligencer and Journal*, then edited by George Sanderson, was the regular organ of the Democratic party in Lancaster County. It was a weekly publication, and at that time a vigorous and exciting campaign for the State election in October was in progress. Col. William Bigler of Clearfield County was the Democratic nominee for Governor; General Seth Clover of Clarion County for Canal Commissioner, and for Judges of the Supreme Court the first ticket presented by the Democratic party under the new elective system bore the illustrious names of Jeremiah S. Black, Somerset; James Campbell, Philadelphia; Ellis Lewis, Lancaster; John B. Gibson, Cumberland, and Walter H. Lowrie, Allegheny.

The Whig County organ was the *Lancaster Examiner and Herald*, published and edited by Edward C. Darlington, who was a conspicuous leader of what was then known as the "Silver Gray" faction of his party — being opposed by the more aggressive anti-slavery men, of whom Thaddeus Stevens was the leader, and whose followers were derisively styled "Woolly Heads." The candidates of the Whig party on the State ticket were: for Governor, William F. Johnston, Armstrong County (a candidate for re-election); for Canal

Commissioner, John Strohm, of Lancaster County, and for Judges of the Supreme Court, Richard Coulter, Westmoreland; Joshua W. Comly, Montour; George Chambers, Franklin; William M. Meredith, Philadelphia, and William Jessup, Susquehanna.

The fact that the entire Supreme Court membership, then numbering five, was to be elected, greatly increased popular interest in the result. Pennsylvania was an October State. The Darlington faction of the Whig party was in the ascendancy and Darlington himself was on the ticket for Senator. Moses Pownall, of Sadsbury Township, was one of the Whig candidates for the Assembly. The regular Democratic County ticket had not yet been nominated, but the opponents of Mr. Buchanan, who were stigmatized as disorganizers and "Frazer Ponies," had named a County ticket.

The first local publications of the tragic occurrences in the Chester Valley appeared respectively in the *Intelligencer* of September 16 and the *Examiner* of September 17, and their local reports of the affair are illustrative not only of the laggard journalistic enterprise of that day, but of the intense partisanship which characterized newspaper management, colored the reports of news occurrences and generally pervaded all journalistic work. The *Intelligencer's* account of the affair was printed under a Columbia correspondent's "Particulars of the Horrible Negro Riot and Murder," and the editorial additions to this report commented on the disgraceful conduct of the "Abolition Whig Governor, absenting himself from the seat of government" on an electioneering tour, while riots and bloodshed prevailed throughout the Commonwealth, and citizens of an adjoining State were "murdered in our midst." All these outrages, it charged, could be traced to the Executive of the Commonwealth—Governor Johnston was then serving his first regular term—"roaming about in quest of votes, instead of being at his post to enforce the utmost rigor of the law against the white and black murderers."



"AFTER THE WAR."

"MAMMY KELLY" WITH THE YOUNGEST GREAT GRANDCHILD OF EDWARD GORSUCH.

Further down the same column the editor rejoiced that Hanway and Lewis and nine negro accessories had been arrested and were in prison awaiting trial for murder. District Attorney John L. Thompson and Alderman J. Franklin Reigart were warmly praised for "ferreting out and arresting the guilty ones," while the deposition of Deputy Marshal H. H. Kline was presented as a most satisfactory account of the "whole transaction."

The *Examiner* promptly declared it to be a "dreadful tragedy" and "one of the most horrid murders ever perpetrated in this County or State." Manifestly with one eye upon the political consequences to the State and local Whig ticket, and the other toward the Abolition faction of the Whig party, to which Editor Darlington was opposed, his newspaper frankly admitted that an awful responsibility rested somewhere, and the *Examiner* believed it to be "our duty to speak loudly and distinctly to those individuals who evidently have urged the blacks to this horrid measure." It deprecated all attempts "to make political capital out of the Sadsbury treason and murder by connecting Governor Johnston's name with that melancholy affair. Intelligent readers will regard such efforts with feelings of disgust and contempt." But for the white persons under arrest and charged with murder and treason, it had no condonation. "Their passions had been inflamed by Abolition harangues and incendiary speeches franked by members of Congress until they had come to look upon treason to the laws of their country as a moral duty, and upon murder as not a crime." It declared that this was especially perceptible and prevailing in Sadsbury and the eastern end of Bart; it recalled with special disapprobation the public meeting held at Georgetown, when the Griest resolutions were passed.

Much indignation was expressed by his political opponents that Governor Johnston, passing through Christiana on his

way from Harrisburg to Philadelphia, on a campaign tour, the morning of the affair, did not get off his train at Christiana where lay the dead body of the Marylander, slain on Pennsylvania soil; though many other passengers did so and the train stopped almost at the place where the inquest was to be held.

Democratic campaign meetings held throughout the County were quick to turn their sails to catch the currents of popular opinion and at an assemblage in Columbia, on September 13th, N. B. Wolfe, M.D., later a famous citizen of Cincinnati, Ohio, principal speaker, denounced "the horrid murder of Gorsuch" "by a band of desperate negroes excited and influenced by murderous Abolitionists whose reeking hands are still smoking with the warm life's blood of a fellow citizen."

A committee of conspicuous Democrats in Philadelphia, including Hon. John Cadwalader, James Page, John W. Forney, A. L. Roumfort, Charles Ingersoll, Joseph Swift and others, in an "open letter," loudly demanded of the Governor that he act for the vindication of the Commonwealth and called a public indignation meeting of citizens in Independence Square. The Governor responded with a rather tart letter and offered \$1,000 reward for the arrest of the murderers.

The *Intelligencer* continued to comment on the tragedy as "the legitimate fruit of the policies pursued by Governor Johnston and Thaddeus Stevens." In criticized Johnston very severely for having passed Christiana without instituting any "measures to bring the murderers to justice" before proceeding on his way; for making political speeches "instead of seeing that the perpetrators of treason against the government and the most bloody murder ever committed in this State were brought to justice." Governor Johnston was at Ephrata and New Holland on the following Saturday, he came to Lancaster on Saturday night, left at midnight

for Philadelphia, and arrived there about five o'clock A. M.

Meantime Rev. J. S. Gorsuch, son of Edward Gorsuch and brother of Dickinson, wrote to the Baltimore *Sun* an account of the tragedy, which was copied into the *Intelligencer* and other Northern papers as an accurate statement.

Subsequently he published an open letter to Governor Johnston, arraiging him for a lack of official promptness which resulted in the slaves and murderers of his father escaping. He recalled that Johnston had refused to honor a requisition from the Governor of Maryland for the free negro, Abe Johnson, who had received the stolen wheat, and he declares that that same Johnson whose return was refused by the Governor, was present at the riot. He proceeded to contrast Johnston's tardiness with "the decision, energy and promptness of the Lancaster County officers," who, he said, "had to collect a posse of men from iron works and diggings on the railroad" to enforce the processes of the law.

The newspapers report that Alderman Reigart was "receiving much commendation in the Southern press for the ability and firmness with which he discharged his duties as the committing magistrate." In the Baltimore *Sun* of October 8, Rev. J. S. Gorsuch had another open letter, this time to Attorney General Franklin. Gorsuch had undertaken to criticise Governor Johnston without in any way condemning his Attorney General. Mr. Franklin had vindicated his chief, by declaring that he had done his full duty, and as his legal adviser the Attorney General accepted all the responsibility for the Governor's conduct.

The general tendency of the agitation undoubtedly was to depress the campaign prospects of the Whigs. Even Philadelphia was extremely conservative and desperately anxious to not lose the trade of the South. Bigler carried the State, receiving 186,499 votes to 178,034 for Johnston. More than that slender majority could be accounted for by the Christiana riot. In Lancaster County the vote on Governor was:

Democrat, 6,226, Whig, 11,064. What might have happened had Mr. Stevens been a candidate for Congress cannot now be calculated. He had been re-elected in 1850, receiving 9,565 votes, to 5,464 for Shaeffer. In 1852 he was not a candidate. The late Hon. Isaac E. Hiester was nominated by the "Silver Gray Whigs," and received 8,840 votes, to 6,456 for Sample, the candidate of the Democratic opposition. In 1854 Stevens was not a candidate, but revenged himself on Hiester by running Anthony E. Roberts, the same who had been U. S. marshal during the Christiana riots. There was a three-cornered fight during that year. Pollock, Whig candidate for Governor, had the support of the Know Nothings, and defeated Bigler by 37,000 majority. Lefevre was the third candidate for Congress in Lancaster County, and divided both the Roberts and Hiester vote, with the result that Roberts received 6,561, Hiester 5,371 and Lefevre 4,266. By this time the new Republican party was organized; the Silver Gray Whigs went out of the fight; Roberts, Whig, and Hiester, Opposition, were again the candidates, and, although Buchanan carried Lancaster County by a plurality of over 2,000 above Fremont and more than 4,000 above Fillmore, Roberts was elected to Congress, receiving 10,001 votes to Hiester's 8,320. In 1858 Stevens again became a candidate for the 36th Congress, and was elected over James M. Hopkins, by the following vote: Stevens, 9,513; Hopkins, 6,341. The latter had been one of the jury in "the treason trial" and had some support from Stevens' Whig opponents. Stevens, however, got some Democratic aid. Thenceforth the power of Darlington and "the Silver Grays" was broken; Republicanism was in the local ascendancy with Stevens as its leader; he never lost his control until his death—his last nomination being conferred upon him by popular vote when his body was encoffined, the ballots having been printed before he died.

If the effect of the agitation elected Bigler, it strengthened the Buchanan wing of the Democratic party, whose choice the Governor-elect was. If it was not able to control the National convention of 1852, it succeeded in defeating Cass, who was Buchanan's chief rival, and thus was helped the nomination of the Lancaster County candidate for Presidency in 1856. Though Bigler was defeated for a second Gubernatorial term, he was elected United States Senator in 1855. The election of four Democratic Supreme Court Judges in Pennsylvania in 1851 was one of the results of the Christiana riot. James Campbell, alone of the Democratic nominees was defeated. He was a Catholic and the Know Nothing opposition to him centred upon Coulter, and elected him; he had been on the bench 1846-7. Campbell became Postmaster General under Pierce.

Meantime the dead body of Edward Gorsuch was taken by rail to Columbia, and via York on the Northern Central Railroad, to Monkton, where a throng of mourning neighbors met it and great local excitement prevailed. There being no convenient hearse and the distance too long for pallbearers, it was carried by the four-horse team of Eliphalet Parsons to Mr. Gorsuch's home. There, after a brief service by Rev. Vinton, it was committed to a family burying ground, where the body has rested undisturbed for sixty years. This private graveyard on the Gorsuch farm is located on an eminence in the midst of a fine orchard of apple trees, and overlooking the wide expanse of country to the southwest and traversed by Piney Run, a tributary to the Gunpowder. The graveyard is about twenty-five by thirty-five feet, surrounded by a massive stone wall, without any gate or entrance. The former opening to it was walled up by direction of and with a legacy left for that purpose by a son Thomas. There remain three low gravestones, of uniform pattern, the central one of which has the initials "E. G." The occupants of the other two graves are unknown, and

there is nothing to indicate who they were. Rev. John S. Gorsuch, son of Edward and who was very conspicuous in the agitation over his killing, was formerly buried in this graveyard, but his remains have been removed therefrom. He died at 32 of typhoid fever the March after his father, and while attending a M.E. conference. The little graveyard is overgrown with myrtle. Human hands have not desecrated it in any way, but there is evidence that the gnawing teeth of rodent vandals have been at work on the graves.



THE GRAVE OF EDWARD GORSUCH.

CHAPTER IX.

BEFORE THE TRIAL.

Popular Discussion Precedes the Arraignment — Legal Questions Raised by Eminent Lawyers — Judge Kane takes High Ground Against Treason — The Selection of the Jury — A Representative Panel.

Pending the arraignment of the prisoners in the United States Court for treason, the affair was made the subject of extended popular discussion. Fiery Southern journals and orators reflected the views that had been early expressed by Governor Lowe to President Fillmore, for his own State of Maryland, that if slave owners could not without incurring the risk of death pursue their property North and reclaim it, Secession and Disunion were inevitable. Quite as fierce and fiery champions of Abolitionism retorted with equal fervor and contempt for a league with iniquity and a covenant with slavery, and for a "flaunting lie" that flung the banner of freedom over a human race in chains. The great mass of conservative citizens stood for both law and liberty; and heard with sympathetic ears Webster's great and eloquent pleas for "Liberty and Union—one and inseparable."

Joshua R. Giddings, in a speech at Worcester, in the early part of November, before the trial, publicly rejoiced in the killing of Gorsuch and that the fugitives "stood up manfully in defense of their God-given rights and shot down the miscreants, who had come with the desperate purpose of taking them again to the land of slavery."

It is a notable coincidence that just at this time the *National Era*, an Abolition paper in Washington, D. C., edited by Gamaliel Bailey, was beginning to publish as a weekly serial the first and copyrighted edition of "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Neither the authoress nor the general reading

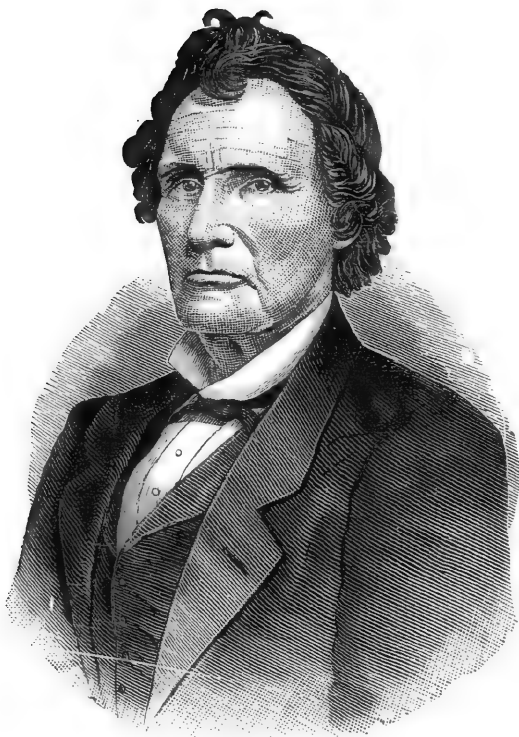
public then appreciated the power and interest of the work, nor until it appeared later in book form.

The rashness of the Gorsuches in incurring danger and inviting death by venturing into an unfriendly country for an unpopular cause, was cited in mitigation of the indictment against a whole community for lawlessness. The blunders of the Deputy Marshal in giving his official errand the aspect of a warlike incursion was urged as a reasonable explanation for what was charged as popular indifference in the locality toward a dark crime.

Withal lawyers and laymen found subject for protracted discussion in the vexed question as to whether it was "treason"; and what degree of opposition or what extent of resistance to law constituted this high crime of such infrequent occurrence.

The cases of the Whiskey Insurrectionists in western Pennsylvania, and Aaron Burr's trial at Richmond, Virginia, had almost faded from popular memory. But there were those in eastern Pennsylvania who recalled some of the echoes of the Fries treason case; and its analogies with the impending trial of nearly forty Lancaster County people were curiously scanned by legal pundits on the Court House benches and by local sages on the country store boxes.

The case of *United States vs. John Fries* arose out of the opposition of the Pennsylvania Germans in Bucks, Northampton and Berks Counties to the collection of a direct Federal tax known as "The House Tax." Assessors had to measure houses to levy the tax. Hostile public meetings were held at which John Fries threatened and encouraged armed resistance to the tax. Armed and with martial music he and his followers paraded the public highways, intimidating tax officials, denouncing Congress and the government as "damned rogues," etc. Fries had two trials, in both of which he was found guilty of treason and sentenced to be hanged. He was subsequently pardoned by President John



THADDEUS STEVENS.

IN THE DAYS OF HIS CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP.

Adams. He was originally tried and convicted before Judges Iredell and Peters, in 1799; and his case is reported in 3 Dallas (Fed. Court Rep.), 515.

As early as November 18, 1850, Hon. John K. Kane, United States District Judge at Philadelphia, had charged the Grand Jury at some length—and not without considerable personal feeling in relation to the State of Pennsylvania statutes—on the subject of the Fugitive Slave Law. Judge Kane had been District Attorney and he was Attorney General of Pennsylvania under Governor Shunk from Jan. 21, 1845, to June 23, 1846. His appointment as Attorney General was offensive to Mr. Buchanan.

Notwithstanding the Supreme Court of the United States in the Prigg case had intimated that legislation of this character was for the Federal Government and not for the State, Judge Kane severely reprehended the Pennsylvania Act of 1847, which repealed the Acts of 1826 and 1827, delegating to State authorities the right to issue warrants for fugitives; he declared the new Fugitive Slave Law of Congress to be little different from the Pennsylvania statute of 1826, and he depicted the results of the Pennsylvania law in these rather lurid terms: "Fanatics of civil discord have, meanwhile, exulted in the fresh powers of harm with which this state of things invested them; and the country has been convulsed in its length and breadth, as if about to be rent asunder, and tossed in fragments, by the outbursting of a volcano."

He went on to say that the new Federal law must be obeyed, and the penalties for violating it were to be enforced without fear, favor or affection. He referred to his district as a community which had suffered in reputation and repose "from crimes of excitement, turbulence and force," and inveighed against disobedience to a statute, obstructing officers of the law and deeds of violent resistance against them.

The language of this charge, and his well-known views on

the legal and political aspects of the question, did not afford a very encouraging outlook for those who were to be tried before him or in his court. These very natural apprehensions were increased, when his charge to the grand jury followed on September 29, 1851. He briefly reviewed the reported facts of the Christiana affair, and though he avowed entire freedom from any impressions of the guilt or innocence of the accused, he pointed to the charges made against them as sufficient to establish the crime of treason if they were duly proved. He also pointed out that as the offence of treason was not triable in his Court, and though the grand jury then empannelled could not take cognizance of the indictments, his learned brother of the Supreme Court, the Hon. Robert C. Grier, who presided in this circuit, would sit on the trial of the cause. Justice Grier was a Pennsylvanian, appointed by President Tyler in 1844, to succeed Henry R. Baldwin, deceased.

The result of the submission to the Grand Inquest for the United States inquiring for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania to the August Term, 1851, was that they found true bills for treason against the following persons, which indictments were, on October 6, 1851, remitted from the District Court to the Circuit Court:

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|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Castner Hanway. | 20. Collister Wilson. |
| 2. Joseph Scarlet. | 21. John Jackson. |
| 3. Elijah Lewis. | 22. William Brown. |
| 4. James Jackson. | 23. Isaiah Clarkson. |
| 5. George Williams. | 24. Henry Simms. |
| 6. Jacob Moore. | 25. Charles Hunter. |
| 7. George Reed. | 26. Lewis Gates. |
| 8. Benjamin Johnson. | 27. Peter Woods. |
| 9. Daniel Caulsberry. | 28. Lewis Clarkson. |
| 10. Alson Pernsley. | 29. Nelson Carter. |
| 11. William Brown, 2nd. | 30. William Parker. |
| 12. Henry Green. | 31. John Berry. |

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|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| 13. Elijah Clark. | 32. William Berry. |
| 14. John Holliday. | 33. Samuel Williams. |
| 15. William Williams. | 34. Josh Hammond. |
| 16. Benjamin Pindergast. | 35. Henry Curtis. |
| 17. John Morgan. | 36. Washington Williams. |
| 18. Ezekiel Thompson. | 37. William Thomas. |
| 19. Thomas Butler. | 38. Nelson Ford. |

The District Attorney then moved for a venire to issue to the marshal, who was commanded to return 108 jurors, of whom 12 were to be summoned and returned from Lancaster County, where the offenses charged were perpetrated.

The selection of jurors for this trial, under all the conditions we have tried to sketch impartially, was a delicate and difficult task for Marshal Roberts—in view of his well-known political opinions and of his personal and partisan affiliations with Thaddeus Stevens, chief counsel for the defense from start to finish. The character and associations of the members of the panel may be gathered to some extent even now from the attitude assumed toward them by counsel on either side. In a subsequent chapter will be briefly epitomized the disposition made of those whose names were called. Keeping it in mind, the author, from a large historical acquaintance with the leading men of that period in the counties of the State from which this panel was chosen, does not hesitate to say that it was high above the average in intelligence and all other requisites for important jury service; that it was eminently representative and an altogether fit and fair enrollment. This opinion is not only now justified, but it is fairly demanded by reason of the criticism Attorney General Brent made in his report to Maryland's Governor upon the disadvantage to which the prosecution was subjected in the personnel of the venire.

During their stay in Moyamensing the prisoners suffered for a time from lack of heat and ventilation until conditions were remedied. Some of them were confined in the Debtors'

Apartments. Witnesses deemed necessary to hold were detained by the Government under pay of \$1.25 per day to them. Peter Woods relates that Ezekiel Thompson and Henry Simms engaged so frequently in loud prayer that outsiders were attracted to the prison walls to listen to them from the adjoining sidewalks. By November 15th it transpired that two witnesses, Peter Washington and John Clark, detained in the Debtors' Apartments, had escaped. David Paul Brown said one of them was important for his client Joseph Scarlet, while the United States was insistent that it needed them also. Mr. Brent finds cause for suspicion and complaint in the allegation that they got out without breaking a lock through inside treachery, of which he "cheerfully" acquits Marshal Roberts; but neither throughout nor after the trial does Mr. Brent present himself as an altogether cheerful person.

CHAPTER X.

“THE TREASON TRIALS.”

Differences of Opinion Among Counsel for the Government — A Brilliant Array of Lawyers — Selecting Twelve Men, “Good and True,” from a Large Venire — The Prisoners Arraigned and Pleas Entered.

In the so-called official report of the Castner Hanway trial, which involved the final disposition of all the treason cases, it is fitly stated by the author and editor that “the ability which marked the trial throughout, the patient attention of the judges, the eloquence and learning of the Counsel, and the full examination of every matter of fact and law in any manner involved, gave to the trial a deep and abiding importance, such as will make its perusal interesting to the general reader, and of indispensable use to the Legal Profession.” It is not to be expected, however, that a detailed report of these proceedings or a presentation of their technical aspect falls within the scope or prescribed limits of this sketch. Those desirous of perusing them can get access to Mr. Robbins’ report in many libraries; lawyers will find the case reported for their special benefit in Vol. II of Wallace’s Report of Circuit Court Cases for the Third District, pp. 134–208. The report of Attorney General Brent and the message of Governor Lowe, in the Maryland State Documents, 1852, constitute an interesting history of the facts and valuable discussion of the law; and Mr. Jackson’s reply undoubtedly corrects and modifies some of the impressions that the complaints of the Marylanders would tend to create.

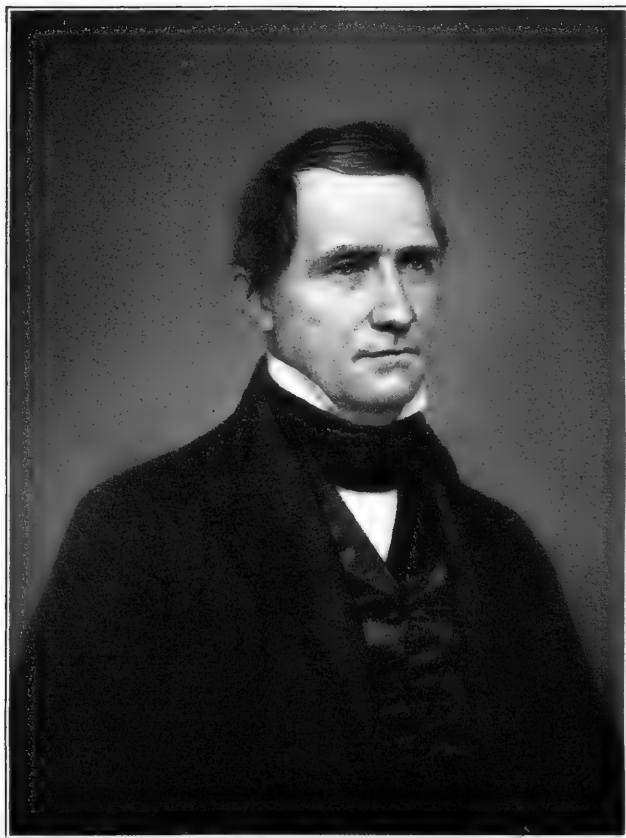
Even outside of these quasi-official documents there remain signs that there was some division of counsel, if not conflict of opinion, among those engaged in the prosecution as to the most expedient course to take and the more effective remedy

to apply to the broken law. Whatever the private opinion of U. S. District Attorney Ashmead may have been, his presentation of the case and his entire part in the trial evinced no lack of preparation or ability and no want of sincerity in the Government's cause. He shrank from no responsibility that his position imposed. He was, moreover, the direct representative of the Law Department of the Fillmore administration. His chief was Attorney General John J. Crittenden and Daniel Webster was the premier of that Cabinet. There was at that time no "Department of Justice" as now organized; there was simply the office of the Attorney General, and an investigation of the archives of the Department fails to disclose anything whatever with respect to the affray or the trials. There is, however, authority for the statement that the final determination to prosecute for treason was made by Webster and Crittenden, who concluded and advised "that even if a conviction were not obtained, the effect of the trial would be salutary in checking Northern opposition to the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Act."

Some question of professional etiquette arose between counsel who appeared for the State of Maryland and those who represented the United States by direct employment for the Government. Mr. Brent reports that this was "satisfactorily adjusted in a personal interview" with Mr. Ashmead. He further says:

"This gentleman, in the presence of the Hon. James Cooper, tendered to me the position of leading counsel in these trials, which I promptly declined, on the ground that I never had claimed such precedence for myself, as well as on grounds of policy and expediency for the prosecution.

"It was then agreed that the Hon. James Cooper, of Pennsylvania (the distinguished colleague associated with me for the State of Maryland), should occupy the position of leading counsel, which he did with fidelity and signal ability. I will here take occasion to remark that, however unfortunate



JOHN W. ASHMEAD.

U. S. ATTORNEY WHO CONDUCTED THE PROSECUTION.

the preliminary difficulty between Mr. Ashmead and myself, and however prejudicial it may have been to the development of the evidence, by preventing that early interchange of views and information, which was necessary to a thorough preparation of these important cases, yet I received during the trial every social and professional courtesy at the hands of that gentleman, and he was at all times prompt to act upon any suggestion which might be made by either Mr. Cooper or myself."

Whatever may have been the nature of their difficulties or the character of their settlement, there was a good deal of "girding" during the trial from the defense at the relations of the various opposing counsel; and there was some recrimination after the Government's defeat over the responsibility for what its representatives thought was a miscarriage of justice. When the lawyers were finally lined up the record showed these appearances: J. W. Ashmead, D. A. U. S., G. L. Ashmead and J. R. Ludlow represented the United States: R. J. Brent, Attorney General of Maryland, James Cooper, a Senator of the United States for Pennsylvania, and R. M. Lee, of Philadelphia, appeared as special counsel; Mr. Brent by order of the Governor of Maryland, of which State Mr. Gorsuch was a citizen; Mr. Cooper and Lee also private counsel of Mr. Gorsuch's relatives: For the prisoner, J. J. Lewis, of West Chester, Th. Stevens, of Lancaster, John M. Read, T. A. Cuyler and W. A. Jackson, of Philadelphia.

David Paul Brown also sat at the prisoners' counsel table; he appeared for Joseph Scarlet, whose case, with that of others, depended on the result of Hanway's trial.

Most of these names will be remembered by the general reader as already eminent or soon to so become. The Ashmeads were notably able lawyers; Mr. Brent had high professional position; James Cooper was then United States Senator, from Pennsylvania; Ludlow later became a member of the Philadelphia judiciary; Lewis of West Chester and Ste-

vens of Lancaster were leaders of their respective county bars. John M. Read was later to be a member of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania. Theo. A. Cuyler was long one of the foremost of Philadelphia's lawyers. Mr. Jackson, junior counsel and historian of the defense, died Jan. 10, 1857, aged 29, and after less than six years his promising career ended.

The trial was held in the second story room of old Independence Hall and sentimentalists speculated as to whether the cause of Law or Liberty would prevail in a historic building consecrated to both these vital principles of organized society. It had been refitted for the occasion with new gas fixtures and special ventilating devices. The opening day did not attract the concourse that thronged the chamber and corridors as the trial progressed, but the seating capacity of the room was fully occupied.

Court opened at 11 A.M. Monday, November 24, 1851. Seventy-eight jurors answered; and Judge Grier ordered a call of the defaulters under promise of a \$100 fine to those who were in default until next morning. Jurors called and some missing with one accord then began to make excuse. Before the session adjourned eighty-one answered and it appeared that nineteen had been previously excused. Arrangements were made for reporting the proceedings; there was some discussion over the impanelling of the jurors, but nobody was disposed to quash or continue; the prisoner, Castner Hanway, was arraigned and pleaded. The questions to jurors were framed upon the replies to which challenges were to be based, and the first juror, David George, was called on the second day of the trial.

Thence the selection of jurors proceeded until twelve men were secured satisfactory to both sides. This occupied the Court until Wednesday evening. Next day being Thanksgiving the trial was adjourned until Friday morning, the jury selected being accommodated and lodged at the American Hotel, opposite the old State House.

An essential part of this narrative, in its political and popular interest, is the personnel of the entire venire of jurors. It is here given with brief memoranda abstracted from the official report, indicating what disposition was made of each person called. Where there are no comments the juror was not called; and the twelve finally sworn are each marked with a *.

1. Adams, Peter, Farmer, Mohnsville P. O., Berks County.

2. Baldwin, Matthias W., Machinist, 335 Spruce St., Philadelphia. Founder of Baldwin's Locomotive Works. Stood aside.

3. Barclay, Andrew C., Gentleman, 147 Arch St., Philadelphia. Challenged by defendant; had an opinion.

4. Bazley, John T., Gentleman, Doylestown, Bucks County. Challenged by prisoner.

5. Beck, John, Professor, Lititz, Lancaster Co. Principal of famous Boys' School; Excused at Mr. Stevens' instance because "the school could not get on without him;" grandfather of Hon. Jas. M. Beck.

6. Bell, Samuel, Gentleman, Reading, Berks County. Associate (Lay) judge and excused.

7. Brady, Patrick, Merchant, 397 Arch St., Philadelphia. Challenged by prisoner for opinion.

8. Breck, Samuel, Gentleman, Arch St., west of Broad, Philadelphia. Prominent citizen; aged 81 and deaf; Excused.

9. Brinton, Ferree, Merchant, Belmont P. O., Lancaster Co. Later associate judge; father-in-law of Judge Wiltbank, of Philadelphia. Stood aside.

10. Broadhead, Albert G., Farmer, Delaware P. O., Pike Co. Deficient hearing and frequent headaches; Excused.

11. Brown, John A., Merchant, S.E. Cor. 12th and Chestnut Sts., Phila. Challenged by prisoner.

12. Brown, Joseph D., Gentleman, 167 Arch St., Philadelphia.

13. Brush, George G., Merchant, Washington, Lancaster Co. A prominent citizen and Democrat. Challenged by prisoner.

14. Butler, Robert, Clerk, Mauch Chunk, Carbon Co.

15. Cadwalader, George, Gentleman, 299 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Excused temporarily. Prominent Philadelphia Democrat. Subsequently called and challenged by prisoner.

16. Cameron, Simon, Gentleman, Middletown, Dauphin Co. Ex U. S. Senator. Unwell and temporarily excused.

17. Campbell, Hugh, Merchant, 33 Girard Street, Philadelphia.

18. Clendenin, John, Gentleman, Hoagstown, Cumberland Co. Challenged by defendant.

19. Cockley, David, Machinist, Lancaster City. Challenged by U. S. for opinion.

20. Cook, Jonathan, Gentleman, Allentown, Lehigh Co. Challenged for opinion by defendant.

21. Coolbaugh, Moses W., Farmer, Coolbaugh P. O., Monroe County. Challenged by prisoner.

22. *Connelly, Thomas, Carpenter, Beaver Meadow, Carbon Co. Accepted and sworn (3).

23. Cope, Caleb, Merchant, Walnut & Quince Sts., Philadelphia. Applied for excuse; refused as he was "not over 60." Recalled and not answering, fined. Subsequently remitted on account of ill health.

24. *Cowden, James, Merchant, Columbia, Lancaster Co. Stood aside at first, finally accepted (12).

25. Culbertson, Joseph, Gentleman, Chambersburg, Franklin Co. "Excused for age, hardness of hearing and vertigo."

26. Darby, John, Gentleman, Fayetteville, Franklin Co. Enfeebled; deaf; excused.

27. Davies, Edward, Gentleman, Churchtown, Lancaster Co. Stood aside.

28. Deshong, John O., Gentleman, Chester, Delaware Co. Stood aside.

29. Diller, Solomon, Farmer, New Holland, Lancaster Co. Stood aside.

30. Elder, Joshua, Farmer, Harrisburg, Dauphin Co. Stood aside.

31. Dillinger, Jacob, Gentleman, Allentown, Lehigh Co. Excused because of "kidney trouble." Conspicuous Democrat.

32. *Elliot, Robert, Farmer, Ickesburg, Perry Co. Accepted and sworn (2).

33. Ewing, Robert, Merchant, 446 Walnut St., Philadelphia. Challenged by defendant.

34. *Fenton, Ephraim, Farmer, Upper Dublin P. O., Montgomery Co. Stood aside. Subsequently recalled and accepted (11).

35. Fraley, Frederick, Gentleman, 365 Race St., Philadelphia. President of Schuylkill Navigation Company; Excused temporarily. Conspicuous citizen. Treasurer Centennial Company in 1876.

36. George, David, Gentleman, Blockley, West Phila. P. O., Philadelphia Co. Stood aside. Recalled and challenged by U. S.

37. Gowen, James, Gentleman, Germantown, Philadelphia Co. Father of P. & R. President F. B. Gowen. Challenged by prisoner. Democrat.

38. Grosh, Jacob, Gentleman, Marietta, Lancaster Co. Political friend of Stevens. Associate (lay) judge, 1842-47. Stood aside.

39. Hammer, Jacob, Merchant, Orwigsburg, Schuylkill Co. Associate (lay) Judge; Excused on account of his wife's illness.

40. Harper, James, Gentleman, Walnut & Schuylkill Fifth Sts., Phila. Challenged by prisoner.

41. Hazard, Erskine, Gentleman, Ninth & Chestnut Sts., Philadelphia. Father-in-law of Samuel Dickson, later one of the leaders of the Philadelphia bar. Challenged by the prisoner. Democrat; merchant; iron master.

42. Hipple, Frederick, Farmer, Bainbridge, Lancaster Co. Stood aside.

43. Hitner, Daniel O., Farmer, Whitemarsh, Montgomery Co. Challenged by prisoner.

44. *Hopkins, James M., Farmer, Bucks P. O., Drumore Twp., Lancaster Co. Ironmaster, Conowingo furnace. Fusion Candidate for Congress against Stevens in 1858. Accepted (7).

45. Horn, John, Gentleman, 16 Broad St., Philadelphia. Biased in favor of defendant and challenged for cause by U. S.

46. Hummel, Valentine, Merchant, Harrisburg, Dauphin Co.

47. Jenks, Michael H., Gentleman, Newton, Bucks Co.

48. *Junkin, John, Farmer, Landisburg, Perry Co. Accepted (8).

49. Keim, William H., Merchant, Reading, Berks Co. Stood aside.

50. Keyser, Elhanan W., Merchant, 144 North Ninth St., Philadelphia.

51. Kichline, Jacob, Farmer, Lower Saucon P. O., Northampton Co. Challenged by prisoner.

52. Kinnard, John H., Farmer, West Whiteland P. O., Chester Co. Stood aside.

53. Krause, John, Clerk, Lebanon, Lebanon Co. Stood aside; had conscientious scruples against death penalty.

54. Kuhn, Hartman, Gentleman, 314 Chestnut St., Philadelphia. Conspicuous citizen; descendant of old Lancaster family; Challenged by U. S. for opinion.

55. Ladley, George, Farmer, Oxford P. O., Chester Co. Stood aside.

56. Leiper, George G., Farmer, Leiperville, Delaware Co. Associate (lay) judge; excused. Prominent Democrat and intimate friend of James Buchanan, to his latest day.

57. Lewis, Lawrence, Gentleman, 345 Chestnut St., Phila-

delphia. President Mutual Insurance Company; very busy. Excused for a fortnight.

58. Luther, Diller, Gentleman, Reading, Berks Co. Challenged by prisoner.

59. Lyons, David, Farmer, Haverford P. O., Delaware Co. Challenged by prisoner.

60. McConkey, James, Merchant, Peachbottom P. O., York Co. Deaf and deputy postmaster; excused. Of old Democratic family.

61. McIlvaine, Abraham R., Farmer, Wallace P. O., Chester County.

62. McKean, Thomas, Gentleman, 356 Spruce St., Philadelphia. Excused on account of illness. Leading citizen and member of distinguished family.

63. Madeira, George A., Gentleman, Chambersburg, Franklin Co. Stood aside.

64. Mark, George, Gentleman, Lebanon, Lebanon Co. Stood aside.

65. *Martin, Peter, Surveyor, Ephrata P. O., Lancaster Co. Anti-Buchanan Democrat; later associate judge and prothonotary; "was under the impression offense might be treason." Accepted (4).

66. Massey, Charles, Merchant, 170 Arch St. Philadelphia. Excused on account of ill health.

67. Mather, Isaac, Farmer, Jenkintown, Montgomery Co. Stood aside.

68. Merkle, Levi, Farmer, Shiremanstown, Cumberland Co. Stood aside.

69. Michler, Peter S., Merchant, Easton, Northampton Co.

70. Miller, John, Gentleman, Reading, Berks Co. Challenged by the prisoner. Excused.

71. Moore, Marmaduke, Merchant, 153 North Thirteenth St., Philadelphia. A prominent Democrat. Challenged by prisoner.

72. Morton, Sketchley, Farmer, Gibbon's Tavern P. O., Delaware Co. Stood aside.

73. Myers, Isaac, Merchant, Port Carbon, Schuylkill Co.

74. Neff, John R., Merchant, 124 Spruce St., Philadelphia. Excused for absence from the State.

75. Newcomer, Martin, Innkeeper, Chambersburg, Franklin Co. Challenged by U. S. for opinion.

76. *Newman, Solomon, Smith, Milford, Pike Co. First juror drawn. Stood aside. Subsequently accepted (9).

77. Palmer, Strange N., Editor, Pottsville, Schuylkill Co. Stood aside.

78. Patterson, Robert, Merchant, S. W. cor. Thirteenth and Locust Sts. Had decided opinions. Challenged by prisoner.

79. Penny, James, Farmer, Liberty Square P. O., Drumore Twp., Lancaster County. Stood aside. Neighbor to Quaker Abolitionists.

80. Platt, William, Merchant, 343 Chestnut St. Philadelphia. Excused because of ill health.

81. Preston, Paul S., Merchant, Stockport, Wayne Co. Stood aside.

82. Reynolds, John, Gentleman, Lancaster City. Father of Gen. John F. Reynolds and Admiral Wm. Reynolds and former proprietor of a Democratic newspaper in Lancaster. Examined at length; showed disfavor to defendants and was challenged peremptorily by Stevens.

83. Rich, Josiah, Farmer, Danboro P. O., Bucks Co. Stood aside.

84. Richards, Matthias, Gentleman, Reading, Berks Co. Challenged by prisoner.

85. Richardson, John, Gentleman, Spruce St., west of Broad, Philadelphia. President of Bank of North America. Excused temporarily for bronchial affection.

86. Rogers, Evan, Gentleman, Locust St. and Washington Square. Challenged for cause by defendant.

87. Ross, Hugh, Farmer, Lower Chanceford Co., York Co. Challenged for cause by defendant. Scotch Irish, Presbyterian, Democrat.

88. Rupp, John, Farmer, Mechanicsburg P. O., Hempden Twp., Cumberland Co. Associate judge; excused temporarily. Recalled and challenged by U. S. because he was opposed to death penalty.

89. Rutherford, John B., Farmer, Harrisburg, Dauphin Co. Stood aside.

90. *Saddler, William R., York Sulphur Springs P. O., Adams Co. Accepted (6).

91. Saylor, Charles, Merchant, Saylorsburg, Monroe Co. Postmaster. Excused.

92. Schroeder, John S., Clerk, Reading, Berks Co. Challenged by prisoner.

93. Small, Samuel, Merchant, York, York Co. Prominent citizen and representative of notable family. Stood aside.

94. Smith, George, Farmer, Upper Darby P. O., Delaware Co. Stood aside.

95. Smith, John, Smith, Jenkintown, Montgomery Co. Challenged by defendant; extended discussion; challenge sustained.

96. *Smith, Robert, Gentleman, Gettysburg, Adams Co. Accepted (5).

97. Smyser, Philip, Gentleman, York, York Co. Challenged for cause.

98. Starbird, Franklin, Farmer, Stroudsburg, Monroe Co. Stood aside.

99. Stavely, William, Farmer, Lahasha P. O., Bucks Co. Challenged by prisoner.

100. Stevens, William, Merchant, Whitehallville, Bucks Co. Challenged by prisoner.

101. Stokes, Samuel E., Merchant, 39 Arch St., Philadelphia.

102. Taylor, Caleb N., Farmer, Newportville, Bucks Co.

Suffering from what Judge Grier called "Epidemic of deafness." Excused.

103. Toland, George W., Gentleman, 178 Arch St., Philadelphia.

104. Trexler, Leshner, Gentleman, Allentown, Lehigh Co. Stood aside.

105. Wainwright, Jonathan, Merchant, Beach, below Hanover St., Philadelphia. Stood aside. Subsequently recalled and accepted (10).

106. Walsh, Robert F., Merchant, 5 Girard St., Philadelphia. "Thought the offense treason." Challenged by the Court.

107. Watmough, John G., Gentleman, Germantown, Philadelphia County. "Strongly against the whole business." Challenged by U. S.

108. Watson, William, Farmer, Mechanicsville, Bucks Co. Stood aside.

109. West, David, Farmer, Kimberton, Chester Co. Stood aside.

110. White, Thomas, H., Gentleman, N. W. Cor. Ninth & Spruce Sts., Philadelphia. Challenged for opinion by U. S.

111. Whitehall, James, Gentleman, Lancaster City. Challenged by prisoner.

112. Witman, Andrew K., Farmer, Center Valley P. O., Lehigh Co. From neighborhood of Fries rebellion. Challenged by U. S. for opinion, after long discussion.

113. Williamson, William, Gentleman, West Chester, Chester Co. Challenged by prisoner.

114. *Wilson, James, Gentleman, Fairfield P. O., Adams Co. Accepted and sworn (3). From neighborhood of Stevens' iron works.

115. Vanzant, Franklin, Farmer, Attleboro P. O., Bucks Co. Two children sick. Excused temporarily.

116. Yohe, Samuel, Gentleman, Easton, Northampton Co. Stood aside.

As finally selected the trial jury consisted of the following persons:

1. ROBERT ELLIOTT, farmer, Ickesburg, Perry County, aged 69.

2. JAMES WILSON, gentleman, Fairfield postoffice, Adams County, aged 73.

3. THOMAS CONNELLY, carpenter, Beaver Meadow, Carbon County, aged 54.

4. PETER MARTIN, surveyor, Ephrata postoffice, Lancaster County, aged 46.

5. ROBERT SMITH, gentleman, Gettysburg, Adams County, aged 57.

6. WILLIAM R. SADDLER, farmer, York Sulphur Springs postoffice, Adams County, aged 41.

7. JAMES M. HOPKINS, farmer, Bucks postoffice, Drumore Township, Lancaster County, aged 50.

8. JOHN JUNKIN, farmer, Landisburg, Perry County, aged 56.

9. SOLOMON NEWMAN, smith, Milford, Pike County, aged 48.

10. JONATHAN WAINWRIGHT, Merchant, Philadelphia, aged 66.

11. EPHRAIM FENTON, farmer, Upper Dublin postoffice, Montgomery County, aged 52.

12. JAMES COWDEN, merchant, Columbia, Lancaster County, aged 36.

Average age of jurors: 53.

In opening for the prosecution District Attorney Ashmead defined the act of treason, as it had been laid down in previous judicial deliverances, and he relied on the proof that there had been an armed and organized resistance to the execution of the laws of Congress, in which the prisoner not only participated, but of which he was a leader. After he had concluded, Z. Collins Lee, of Baltimore, United States District Attorney, appeared also for the prosecution. Wit-

nesses were excluded while other witnesses were testifying. Mr. G. L. Ashmead, who was a cousin of the United States Attorney, conducted the examination of the witnesses. The scene was located; Deputy Kline told his story in detail, substantially as the incident has been related; he insisted that he asked Hanway and Lewis to aid him in enforcing his writs and they refused; Hanway sat on his horse during the affray and Joshua Gorsuch, pretty badly hurt, got behind the horse for protection. Kline was the special target of severe and sarcastic cross-examination by Mr. Stevens, as he was the Atlas of the Government's case. To break him down on the identity of those who were present at the riot, Mr. Stevens insisted on the Court allowing the presence in Court of all the prisoners; and when he accomplished this dramatic purpose he turned Kline over to Mr. Lewis for further and protracted cross-examination on the skirmishing movements of the arresting party before the riot. Mr. Read also took a hand in his cross-examination, which was not concluded until the Saturday of the first week. His last answer at this session was to the effect that he did not see Joseph Scarlet at the "action."

Dr. Pearce testified at some length corroborating Kline; and averring very distinctly that he saw a shot fired from the window of the house at Gorsuch, the elder. He was severely cross-examined by Mr. Stevens, who intimated repeatedly that the witness had charged Kline with cowardice. Dickinson Gorsuch followed him and testified to the main facts. Neither he nor his cousin, Joshua, was subjected to any cross-examination; and both of them were less direct in their accusations against Hanway and Lewis than Kline, at the most declaring that Hanway's arrival seemed to give the colored men inspiration and encouragement. The son established his father's determination not to be driven or intimidated from the premises, and described the killing of him and the wounding of himself. These circumstances,

creditable to the valor of the Gorsuches, did not materially prejudice the case of the defendant on the trial. Dickinson recognized Scarlet as one who at first refused to help him, but subsequently got him water. Nicholas Hutchins was also examined as to the affray and corroborated the other witnesses; likewise Nathan Nelson, the other of the Maryland party. These witnesses were positive in their recognition of Noah Buley and Joshua Hammond, the elder two of the runaways.

The first week of the trial closed with Miller Knott on the stand. He was a citizen of the neighborhood, who was not charged with any complicity, but who had given aid to the wounded. He had seen a man on horseback, in his shirt sleeves — presumably Hanway — riding northward, with a band of negroes following him; and a half score or more attacking Dickinson Gorsuch, while others followed Isaiah Clarkson into the corn field. He saw Gorsuch the father lying alone not yet dead; and Joseph Scarlet, on horseback, at "the mouth of the long lane"; he subsequently returned with the colored men toward Parker's house. From this witness it appeared that it was a mile from Hanway's mill to Parker's house, that Joseph Scarlet would have to travel two miles and his horse was "sweaty," that Elijah Lewis lived from a mile and a half to two miles away. Mr. Knott was not subjected to cross-examination. His son, John, had preceded him to Parker's by ten minutes and saw the riot from a point about thirty yards from the junction of the long lane and the house lane. He saw from fifty to sixty negroes come out from the house, shouting and shooting, disperse up the little lane and run toward the creek. He saw horses hitched on the fence in the long lane; he saw Dickinson Gorsuch bleeding and gave him water. Again the defense desisted from cross-examination of either of the Knotts. Alderman Reigart testified to an exciting conversation between Kline and Hanway and Lewis at Christiana, after their arrest, when Kline had

denounced them savagely and they disclaimed having incited the negroes. It was manifest the defendants would centre their attack upon Kline and Mr. Read brought out the fact that while he wore formidable whiskers and mustaches at the time of the affray, he had since shaved them off. It was shown that though he publicly denounced the prisoners as "white livered scoundrels" who had ordered the blacks to fire, his statements under oath were very much milder.

A long discussion ensued over the admission of Charles Smith's evidence, but he was finally permitted to testify that Samuel Williams—the colored man from Philadelphia who had trailed Kline—had brought and circulated news of the intended raid for the arrest of the Gorsuch runaways. It was disclosed by Dr. Cain's testimony that Washington and Clark, colored witnesses who had escaped from Moyamensing, had been circulating a paper on September 10th, which had the character of a warning to the Maryland refugees. Shortly after the affray Dr. Cain, at his own tenant house, treated two colored men, Henry C. Hopkins and John Long, who had been shot, one in the arm and one in the thigh. Hopkins was the doctor's tenant. John Roberts, a colored witness, who had been detained as such, for more than ten weeks, in Moyamensing, proved that Joseph Scarlet told him "about sun up" that kidnappers were at Parker's, and witness got a loaded gun from Jacob Townsend and went to the scene. Other witnesses of the same kind, and detained the same way, elicited little material matter, as they arrived on the scene after the battle. In support of the Government's theory of a treasonable conspiracy, some evidence was introduced of meetings at West Chester in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law, but the participation of the accused was not shown.

The scenes attending the trial are described by the newspapers of the day as highly interesting and sometimes sensational. Popular interest grew as it progressed, and it

centered upon the prisoner who was a stranger in Philadelphia. One newspaper account describes Hanway as displaying the greatest self-possession during the selection of jurors. "He is apparently about 35 years of age, tall but spare in form, and inclined to stoop a little. There is a becoming seriousness in his countenance, but nothing like alarm or trepidation is visible. When called upon to look at the juror summoned to try him, he does so with a firm and inquiring look, but never determines upon his admission or rejection until he has consulted his counsel, Thaddeus Stevens, who sits immediately by his side."

Before the defense was formally opened its course and character had been anticipated by the cross-examination of Mr. Stevens; in this quality of a trial lawyer he was an acknowledged master. The opening speech of Mr. Cuyler referred to the division among the counsel for the prosecution; it praised the fairness of Mr. Ashmead, who, it declared, had been remanded to the background, because Maryland distrusted the justice of Pennsylvania. This was an effective appeal to the State pride of the jury. He vigorously assailed Kline, who had been the Government's most zealous witness. He traced the course of Pennsylvania's legislation on slavery and insisted that this Commonwealth was "ever true to her plighted constitutional good faith"; he extolled Hanway's civic virtues, and dwelt with emphasis upon the local agitation over the "lawless and diabolical outrages" of the kidnappers; and finally ridiculed the idea of treason in the allegation that "three harmless, non-resisting Quakers, and eight-and-thirty wretched, miserable, penniless negroes, armed with corn-cutters, clubs, and a few muskets, and headed by a miller, in a felt hat, without a coat, without arms, and mounted on a sorrel nag, levied war against the United States."

When Mr. Stevens began the production of testimony for the defense with offers to prove the recent kidnapping out-

rages in the neighborhood of Gap, the legal storm center of the trial was at hand. The prosecution saw and feared the influence of this line of evidence as keenly as the defense recognized its force and value. Judges Grier and Kane both discerned the vital issue at once and long before the argument concluded, pointed out that as the accusation was treason — a position founded upon some previous conspiracy—the defense must be allowed the same latitude to disprove intent as had been allowed to the prosecution to establish it. This opened the way for Thomas Pennington to tell the story of what had occurred at the home of his son-in-law, William Marsh Chamberlain, the preceding January — it was the same night, by the way, that “James Ray fell dead as he entered the door of his own house.” As has been heretofore related, in the absence at Ray’s of the head of the Chamberlain household, the black man in employ was beaten and dragged out and carried off by intruders without legal process and led by local abettors of the capture.

The fact that it was not shown the man taken was a free man, or that he may have been reclaimed by the authority of his owner, made little difference in the popular feeling about the affair or in the effectiveness of the incident for trial purposes. If such ruthlessness might be technically legal it made the slave law none the less odious!

Henry Ray went further than Pennington and identified both Perry Marsh and William Bear as associates of the band who carried off Chamberlain’s man; and Mrs. Chamberlain—who saw the incident through a pipe hole from upstairs, where the affrighted family had retreated—and her brother, Miller Pennington, described it in a manner that heightened its effect. With this recital the defense made a distinct advance.

When the next witness, Elijah Lewis, was called, a question was raised as to his competency. Although not himself on trial, he was under indictment for the same offense as

the prisoner. Mr. Brent cited "5th Espinasse," but the Government's objection was not urged with much confidence and was not sustained by the Court. Interest centered in the witness as he was probably the most conspicuous of all the defendants and a recognized leader of local sentiment. He supported the case of the defendants as their counsel had outlined it; and his intelligence, direct manner and forceful expression gave added weight to his testimony. Isaiah Clarkson had summoned him to the scene by the report that Parker's house was surrounded and had been broken into by kidnappers; he started on foot and called Hanway, who was not very well and got his horse; Kline showed them a paper which he assumed was a warrant; the negroes were excited and Hanway begged them not to shoot; witness had turned south toward the wood, Kline following and Hanway to the north when the shooting began. He contradicted Kline's story of him or Hanway expressing defiance of the law and declared Kline was "in the woods" when the firing began; he and Hanway were not arrested; they gave themselves up. Cross-examination strengthened his statement.

Other witnesses testified to Kline's declarations after the event to the effect that he had wanted to withdraw, but was overruled; that Dr. Pearce admitted the Gorsuches were rash and Kline timid, and that he himself owed his life to Hanway's protection.

The defense then opened its batteries against Kline's reputation. Hon. William D. Kelly—later a Common Pleas Judge and long time a leading member of Congress from Philadelphia—headed a long list of witnesses who testified that Kline's reputation was bad and that he was unworthy of belief. There were nearly a score in all and many of them were most emphatic; it was also shown that in some accounts of the affray Kline had denounced "the damned Quaker abolitionists."

To open the way for the recanting witness, Harvey Scott,

to recall his former stories and repudiate their statements, witnesses were called to testify that he was not at the riot at all, but was "buttoned up" in John Carr's garret until daylight and from that time on was at the place, blowing and striking in his employer's blacksmith shop; that when he heard of the affair he congratulated himself with the remark, "I'm a nigger out of that scrape."

Lewis Cooper, who was a son-in-law of Elijah Lewis, had, with Joseph Scarlet's assistance, taken Dickinson Gorsuch to the Pownall house; he had heard Dr. Pearce tell of his uncle's rashness and that one of his own slaves, "a bright yellow negro," shot him; and also that he had been saved by holding on to Hanway's saddle skirt.

Many witnesses were called to prove Hanway's character "as a peaceable, good, loyal and orderly citizen." It was brought out that Hanway, contrary to the general popular impression, was not a member of the Society of Friends. Having been born in Delaware and lived in Chester as well as Lancaster County, and having been at one time absent from the State, the witnesses in his behalf represented different sections of the country.

The rebuttal on the part of the prosecution consisted largely of an attempt to rehabilitate Kline's reputation; a great number of respectable citizens of Philadelphia, who had known him from his youth up, were called to testify that his character was good and that he was entitled to belief. The opening in rebuttal also covered proposed proof of alleged outrages and reprisals by the sympathizers with fugitive slaves, in that armed and organized bands of negroes paraded the streets of Lancaster "on the hunt for slave hunters and avowing the determination, if they caught them, they would kill them"; that in April, 1851, Samuel Worthington, of Maryland, went into the neighborhood of Christiana to reclaim his fugitive slave and was resisted by armed force; that bells were rung and horns blown to arouse the

neighborhood and the master was obliged to flee for his life. It was also promised that Harvey Scott would corroborate his former statement and disprove the alibi that had been made out for him. In the number of witnesses who were called to prove the general character of Kline for truth and veracity, the Government far exceeded his assailants. The proposed testimony as to previous occurrences in the neighborhood, showing popular feeling against the resistance to the reclaiming of fugitive slaves, was ruled out by the Court; the trial judges concurred that if it was any part of the Government's case it should have been offered originally, and Judge Grier jocularly observed, "We may draw a figure from the game of whist—it would be renigging and keeping your trump back to the last trick."

When the recanting witness, Harvey Scott, was called by the Government to prove that the alibi made for him was not correct, and Mr. Ashmead confidently offered him to prove that he was at the riot, Scott startled the prosecution and satisfied the defense by testifying as follows: "I gave my evidence that I was there once. I was frightened at the time I was taken up, and I said I was there, but I was not; I was proved to be there, but I was not there; they took me to Christiana, and I was frightened, and I didn't know what to say, and I said what they told me." He repeated this, whereupon Mr. Ashmead declared that he had been entrapped and asked that Scott might be committed to take his trial for perjury, when the following colloquy occurred:

"JUDGE GRIER. Poor devil, it is not worth while for the United States to do it. Let him go, and if you owe him any thing, pay him, that he may not be tempted to steal.

"MR. STEVENS. The truth is, that he is not right in his mind.

"MR. J. W. ASHMEAD. With that explanation I am perfectly willing he should depart."

At the resumption of the trial on the next day there was a good deal of discussion as to what should be done about the variation in the testimony of the witness Scott. The Government had manifestly suffered from his wobbling, and intimated that he had been tampered with; all of which was resented by the defense, who declared that he was only a "poor miserable negro," shallow-minded and uncertain, and that the United States having fed and clothed him for the purpose of the trial, no one representing the defense had had any access to him and the whole effect of his testimony was a matter for the jury. After again calling Dickinson Gorsuch to prove that two of his father's slaves—Noah Buley and Joshua Hammond—were present at the shooting, the testimony closed, and it was agreed there should be not more than three speeches on either side.

The summing up began on Friday, December 5, Mr. Ludlow opening for the prosecution and discussing at length and elaborately the law of the case, and then proceeding to consider the strength of the Government's testimony and the improbabilities of what had been proved on the part of the defense. Being himself a member of the Philadelphia bar, he undertook the defense of Kline, and declared that no man of bad character could have produced in his behalf the array of witnesses whom the Government had called to sustain its deputy marshal. On Saturday morning, December 6, Mr. Lewis, of West Chester, commenced to sum up for the defense. He made an exceptionally able argument both on the facts and the law of the case and reviewed the history of the two leading cases of treason which had occurred in Pennsylvania arising out of the so-called Whiskey Insurrection and the Fries rebellion. He was followed by Attorney General Brent, for the prosecution, and his speech was not concluded when Court adjourned on Saturday afternoon to meet the following Monday. It was at this session of the Court the colored prisoners were brought in clad in the uni-

form dress which had been furnished them by sympathizing friends, and the scene that was presented is thus described by a contemporary newspaper reporter:

"On Saturday morning, December 6, when Mr. Lewis was to speak first for the prisoners and was to be followed by the Attorney General of Maryland there was a great throng present at the trial. The room was overcrowded with women, and Marshal Roberts was greatly embarrassed at his inability to find or to make a place for them. The special attention of the specators was attracted to a row of colored men, seated on the north side of the room. They were cleanly in their appearance, and their heads and faces presented strong presumptive evidence that they had just escaped from the hands of the barber. These were the colored prisoners alleged to have been engaged in the treason at Christiana, and numbered twenty-four. They were all similarly attired wearing around their necks 'red, white and blue scarfs.' Lucretia Mott was at their head. This, we believe, is her first appearance in court since the trials have commenced. Her dignified and benevolent countenance ever attracts attention. Under that calm exterior there glows a fire, kindled by charity, which is as universal as it is ardent and enduring. She sat knitting during the entire session of the court, apparently unconscious of what was going on around her, except when some point in the testimony seemed to bear strongly against the prisoner. Then her eyes were lifted from her work, and sparkled for a moment with admiration; but speedily relapsed into their intelligent, yet quiet and peaceful aspect. One of the colored persons, whose name is Collister Wilson, was too unwell to be brought from prison on Saturday morning. It is but just to say, that these colored men, taken together, will compare in personal appearance with an equal number of the same race taken indiscriminately from any part of the world. The two white men, Lewis and Scarlet, were also brought from prison, but occupied the rear or east end of the court

room. These two appeared to be between thirty and forty years of age, and judging from their garb, do not belong to the Society of Friends, as has been generally supposed. On inquiring how it happened that the colored prisoners were all dressed alike, we were informed that they had been clothed by a committee of ladies belonging to the Abolition Society, who have been very attentive to them since they have been in prison."

Subsequent reports of the trial indicate increased attendance, especially of "ladies dressed in Quaker garb."

Continuing his speech on the following Monday the Attorney General waxed eloquent over the glories of the Union and the perils to national peace that lay in resistance to law and in the refusal of any one section to accord to another its legal rights. He read from Webster's speeches and Washington's farewell address and from Judge Iredell's charge on the trial of the Fries cases. He referred to the presence in Court by Hanway's side of his devoted and affectionate wife, who it seems had sat with him during the trial. While the gallantry of the Maryland lawyer constrained him to express his admiration and respect for "the afflicted lady of this prisoner," he warned the jury against being controlled by "the spell of that female influence which is more potent than the eloquence of counsel," and contrasted the situation of Mrs. Hanway with that of Gorsuch's wife "who, as a widow, is now mourning the loss and lover of her youth and the prop of her declining years." He played upon the color of Scarlet's name; he denounced the coroner's inquest, lauded the chivalrous courage of Edward Gorsuch, pictured with skillful hands the combat at the Parker house and the "diabolical malice" of those who mangled the victim of that occasion after they had killed him. He insisted that both Lewis and Hanway had been guilty of treason and that they had incited the blacks to make armed resistance to the law of the land.

To Mr. Read was assigned the responsible duty of replying immediately to Brent, which he did in a speech occupying nearly three days in the delivery and, as the reporter observes, "marked throughout by eloquence and profound learning, being a thorough and complete dissertation on the law of treason, and which riveted the attention not only of the Court and jury, but of a crowded auditory."

It was expected that Thaddeus Stevens would follow him, and the public interest which attached to his speaking was probably greater than that attending any of the other counsel; but for some reason he declined speaking in the cause, and Mr. Read was followed by Senator Cooper, who represented not only the State of Maryland, but the Gorsuch family. He expounded with the ability of a profound lawyer the constitutional definition of treason and applied it to the facts of the case, which he insisted fully, amply and distinctly proved the overt act of treason. In the cases of contradiction between Lewis and Kline he declared that Kline was supported by the testimony of all the Maryland party, while Lewis stood alone, and Lewis was an interested and therefore discredited witness. His peroration was an earnest plea for the Union and against anything that would affect its stability or endanger its peace. In Websterian strain he closed as follows: "The eyes of the world are upon the constellation in its banner. Its stars are the beacons of liberty. Let us then, for our sakes, and for the sake of liberty in other lands, guard it as the Ark of the Covenant was guarded of old. Let no hand deface it. Let the day never come when it shall be rent in twain; when one cluster of its stars, separated from the other and beaming in different banners, shall be borne over adverse and conflicting hosts; but let it remain as it now is, 'the Flag of the Union,' still waving over the heads of united freemen, obedient to the same laws—laws supported by all, sustained by all, vindicated by all, in every section of the country."

The argument of the case closed with Senator Cooper's speech and he was immediately followed by Justice Grier's charge to the jury. After the judge had made a general exposition of the law, he paid a high tribute to the manner in which the case had been conducted on both sides by counsel. He framed the issues to be determined by the jury as two-fold, involving first the question as to whether Hanway participated in the offenses proved to have been committed, and, secondly, if he did so, was his offence treason? In undertaking to vindicate the reputation of the people of Pennsylvania he left no doubt as to his own individual views upon the subject of the anti-slavery agitation then prevailing, and the following extracts from his charge, which were savagely resented at the time of their utterance even by those who were satisfied with his legal conclusion, are reported to have been uttered in a shrill and piping voice, which added to the intensity of their expression:

"With the exception of a few individuals of perverted intellect, some small districts or neighborhoods whose moral atmosphere has been tainted and poisoned, by male and female vagrant lecturers and conventions, no party in politics, no sect of religion, nor any respectable numbers or character can be found within our borders who have viewed with approbation or looked with any other than feelings of abhorrence upon this disgraceful tragedy.

"It is not in this Hall of Independence, that meetings of infuriated fanatics and unprincipled demagogues have been held to counsel a bloody resistance to the laws of the land. It is not in this *city* that conventions are held denouncing the Constitution, the laws, and the Bible. It is not *here* that the pulpit has been desecrated by seditious exhortations, teaching that theft is meritorious, murder excusable and treason a virtue.

"The guilt of this foul murder rests not alone on the deluded individuals who were its immediate perpetrators, but

the blood taints with even deeper dye the skirts of those who promulgated doctrines subversive of all morality and all government."

He practically disposed, however, of the whole case and took its further consideration from the jury by his announced legal conclusion that the offense did not arise to that of treason. His summing up on this branch of the subject practically concluded all of the cases. It was as follows:

"Without desiring to invade the prerogatives of the jury in judging the facts of this case, the Court feel bound to say, that they do not think the transaction with which the prisoner is charged with being connected, rises to the dignity of treason or levying war. Not because the numbers or force was insufficient. But 1st, For want of any proof of previous conspiracy to make a *general and public resistance to any law* of the United States. 2ndly, Because there is no evidence that any person concerned in the transaction knew there were such acts of Congress, as those with which they were charged with conspiring to resist by force and arms, or had any other intention than to protect one another from what they termed kidnappers (by which slang term they probably included not only actual kidnappers, but all masters and owners seeking to recapture their slaves, and the officers and agents assisting therein).

"The testimony of the prosecution shows that notice had been given that certain fugitives were pursued; the riot, insurrection, tumult, or whatever you may call it, was but a sudden 'conclamatio' or running together, to prevent the capture of certain of their friends or companions, or to rescue them if arrested. Previous to this transaction, so far as we are informed, no attempt had been made to arrest fugitives in the neighborhood under the new act of Congress by a public officer. Heretofore arrests had been made by the owner in person, or his agent properly authorized, or by an officer of the law. Individuals without any authority, but

incited by cupidity, and the hope of obtaining the reward offered for the return of a fugitive, had heretofore undertaken to seize them by force and violence, to invade the sanctity of private dwellings at night, and insult the feelings and prejudices of the people. It is not to be wondered at that a people subject to such inroads, should consider odious the perpetrators of such deeds and denominate them kidnappers—and that the subjects of this treatment should have been encouraged in resisting such aggressions, where the rightful claimant could not be distinguished from the odious kidnapper, or the fact be ascertained whether the person seized, deported or stolen in this manner, was a free man or a slave. But the existence of such feelings is no evidence of a determination or conspiracy by the people to publicly resist any legislation of Congress, or levy war against the United States. That in consequence of such excitement, such an outrage should have been committed, is deeply to be deplored. That the persons engaged in it are guilty of aggravated riot and murder cannot be denied. But riot and murder are offences against the State Government. It would be a dangerous precedent for the Court and jury in this case to extend the crime of treason by construction to doubtful cases.”

Having thus practically disposed of the case Mr. Justice Grier praised the U. S. Attorney and the counsel for Maryland for their zeal and ability, and intimated that the duty of punishing “the perpetrators of this outrage” might be transferred to the courts of Lancaster County, where the activity and zeal of its law officers gave assurance that their duty would be performed with all fidelity.

After the Judge’s charge the jury retired to deliberate at the American House where they were lodged. They returned in fifteen minutes and rendered a verdict of “Not Guilty,” which announcement was received by the large audience present “in a becoming manner”; the propriety of

their conduct is ascribed to the fact that the Judge's charge forecast the verdict.

John M. Read afterwards said some of the jurymen informed him they were ready to acquit before the defense opened.

On motion of District Attorney Ashmead, and in consideration of the ordeal through which Castner Hanway had just passed, four other bills against him for misdemeanor were non prossed and he was discharged from custody and from all further prosecution in the Federal Courts. The charge of treason against Elijah Lewis was withdrawn, and he and Samuel Williams were admitted to bail in \$2,000 on four other indictments pending against them. Hanway and Lewis were brought to Lancaster on Friday afternoon, December 12th, and held by Associate Judge Vondersmith in \$1,000 bail each, "to answer any charge that might be brought against them."

There was a later proceeding in which all the other bills for treason were non prossed; and the proposed transfer of the prisoners to Lancaster County was announced by the District Attorney. Mr. Read brought to the attention of the Court the subject of the United States paying the expenses of the Hanway witnesses; for which there was a precedent in Aaron Burr's case. The subject was fully argued December 19th; and Judge Kane filed an opinion refusing to tax these costs against the Government and dismissing Hanway's petition.

Subsequently a petition to Congress, of which the following is a copy, was circulated and signed by the defendants, but it availed nothing:

"TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE UNITED STATES:

"The Petition of

Citizens of the State of Penna., respectfully represents; That Whereas in the month of September 1851 a Riot occurred in the vicinity of the residence of your petitioners, generally known as the

'Christiana Riot,' and your petitioners repairing to the scene of disturbance without any evil intentions, but to prevent violence, were arrested by persons acting for the United States, and charged with the highest crimes known to our Laws, and thrown into prison, where they were detained many months and subjected to great expense in making preparations to meet those charges, whereby their estates were wasted, their minds harassed to the verge of insanity, and their health impaired, till premature decrepitude is the consequence, after which they were discharged without a hearing, thereby tacitly admitting the charges were groundless, having incurred an expense of many thousand dollars.

"Your petitioners therefore pray you the honorable representatives of the most magnanimous nation of the earth, to grant us some relief from our embarrassments, and we will ever pray, etc."

Thus ended the Treason Trials of 1851.

CHAPTER XI.

THE LATER TRIALS.

Legal Proceedings in Lancaster County — Prisoners Remanded to Local Jurisdiction — President Fillmore's Message — Attorney General Brent's Report — Final Disposition of the Cases in the Lancaster County Court — "Sam" Williams Tried in Philadelphia and Acquitted.

There was, however, a very considerable political and legal aftermath to the proceedings at Philadelphia. The intimation of so eminent an authority as a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States to the effect that some official duty devolved upon the Lancaster County authorities could not be ignored. Accordingly District Attorney John L. Thompson, who was in his day one of the leaders of the Lancaster County Bar, framed bills of indictment to the January Sessions 1852 against many of those who had been arraigned for treason in Philadelphia. On Wednesday, December 31, Marshal Roberts brought to the Lancaster County prison from Philadelphia the following persons: Alson Pernsley, Lewis Gales, Lewis Clarkson, Charles Hunter, Nelson Carter, Thomas Butler, Henry Green, Collister Wilson and George Williams, — all these were on the same evening discharged by the District Attorney, as he deemed the evidence insufficient to warrant their detention.

On the same evening George Williams was arrested as a fugitive slave and taken to Penningtonville, where he took advantage of the sleepiness of his captors and walked off, and "straight was seen no more," to the great chagrin of Henry H. Kline, the officer who made the arrest, and of the owner of the slave, who was asleep on the floor.

Saturday, January 3, 1852, Marshal Roberts brought to

Lancaster as prisoners John Morgan, Jacob Moore, Ezekiel Thompson, Isaiah Clarkson, John Williams, John Jackson, Benjamin Johnson, George Read, Daniel Causeberry, Benjamin Pendergrass, William Williams, John Holliday, William Brown, Elijah Clark, William Brown, Jr., and Henry Sims, as prisoners, and five colored persons as witnesses. The witnesses were discharged on their recognizance to appear at Court to testify.

Public and political interest in the Riot and the Trials was not allowed to flag from inattention to the issues they involved by those high in authority. From "the seats of the mighty" deliverances were heard against what was interpreted in some quarters as successful offensive resistance to law. In his early message to Congress in December, 1851, President Fillmore had these paragraphs, relating to the events at Christiana.

"It is deeply to be regretted that in several instances officers of the Government, in attempting to execute the law for the return of fugitives from labor, have been openly resisted and their efforts frustrated and defeated by lawless and violent mobs: that in one case such resistance resulted in the death of an estimable citizen, and in others serious injury ensued to those officers and to individuals who were using their endeavors to sustain the laws. Prosecutions have been instituted against the alleged offenders so far as they could be identified, and are still pending. I have regarded it as my duty in these cases to give all aid legally in my power to the enforcement of the laws, and I shall continue to do so wherever and whenever their execution may be resisted."

"Some objections have been urged against the details of the act for the return of fugitives from labor, but it is worthy of remark that the main opposition is aimed against the Constitution itself, and proceeds from persons and classes of persons many of whom declare their wish to see that Constitution overturned. They avow their hostility to any law

which shall give full and practical effect to this requirement of the Constitution. Fortunately the number of these persons is comparatively small, and is believed to be daily diminishing; but the issue which they present is one which involves the supremacy and even the existence of the Constitution."

At an anti-slavery meeting, in Philadelphia, held on December 18, 1851, Joshua R. Giddings and Lucretia Mott were speakers. The large audience grew tumultuously enthusiastic over the presentation on the platform of Castner Hanway and Elijah Lewis.

After the trial William H. Seward sent the following Christmas greeting to District Attorney Ashmead, whose son, Henry G. Ashmead, historian of Delaware County and resident of Chester, cherishes the manuscript; Mr. Seward was then in his first term as United States Senator, but had already distinguished himself as an anti-slavery leader:

WASHINGTON December 25, 1857

My Dear Sir,

I thank you for the kind remembrance manifested by you sending me a copy of your opening Argument on the late Trial for Treason. While I cannot but rejoice in the result of that trial as a new assurance of the security of Popular Liberty, I am not unable to appreciate the ability with which you have maintained the untenable position which the Government was made to assume. The argument is highly logical and eloquent, and I cannot better manifest my good wishes for you and for the Country than by expressing a hope that it may be the good fortune of the cause of truth and justice hereafter to enlist you on their side.

I am, my dear Sir,
Very respectfully & truly
Your friend,
WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

John W. Ashmead Esq.,
District Attorney of the United States
Philadelphia.

In his message to the General Assembly of Maryland at the following January Session, Governor Lowe referred at length

to the Gorsuch tragedy. Despite the assurances of the Federal administration through Secretary of State Daniel Webster, that all the energies of the law would be exerted to bring the offenders to justice, Maryland had felt constrained to actively participate in the prosecution. "The blood of a Marylander," he declared, "cried out from the earth; whilst the Genius of the Union called aloud for a vindication of outraged laws." Otherwise "the flame of excitement would spread from the hills of Maryland to the savannahs of the extreme South, until every Southern State would unite in one common feeling of horror and indignation." Senator Cooper had been retained by him; and despite the high ability and signal service of both him and Maryland's Attorney General, there had been a gross miscarriage of justice. With a fervor of rhetoric that was more common then in State papers than it is now, he declared: "Shall domestic feuds destroy our power, when the eyes of all nations are turned to the star of our empire, as the harbinger of their deliverance? Shall Kossuth blast Hungary with the breath of our discord? Shall O'Brien, in his lonely exile, see the hope of Ireland pass down the horizon, with the western sun? May so incalculable a calamity be spared to the nations of the earth. And yet, when American blood is made to flow upon American soil, as a grateful libation to American fanaticism; when whole communities stand listlessly by, and a prostituted press and venal politicians are found, in the open day, to glory in the human sacrifice; when the Law proclaims its own weakness from the Bench, and Treason stalks unpunished, through the halls of justice; the Nations can judge of the probable remoteness of that calamity."

The official report of his Attorney General justified the Governor in becoming somewhat heated over the outcome at Philadelphia. Mr. Brent had suffered not only some personal irritation over his position there, but a keen professional disappointment in his failure to convict. The blame

for this he distributed very generally among the people of the North who sympathized with resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law; the partisan character of the jury panel; the partiality of the daily press reports; the sympathy of the spectators; the treachery of the prison officials; the bribery of Scott, the government's witnesses; and egregious errors of law committed by Judge Grier. Even the amiable Marshal did not escape criticism, as evinced by this paragraph:

"I brought to the attention of the court, the fact stated in the 'Pennsylvania Freeman,' that the Marshal (Mr. Roberts) had actually dined with the prisoners, or some of them, during the trial, on Thanksgiving day, and when I was about to read the article from the paper I was stopped by his Honor, Judge Grier, who in behalf of the Marshal, denied the truth of the statement that he had so dined; but unfortunately for the Judge's interposition, the Marshal immediately afterwards made his own explanation, and admitted that he had not only assisted at the dinner, 'but had set down and partaken sparingly' of the Thanksgiving dinner, with the white prisoners. I cannot but consider such conduct as highly unbecoming that officer from whom, next to the Judge, we had a right to expect impartiality and a due regard for decorum."

It is only fair to all concerned to say that the Attorney General's indignation was not taken very seriously. Attorney Jackson's history of the case corrects some of his exaggerations, and especially points out that all of Mr. Brent's colleagues exculpated Marshal Roberts from any misconduct. Judge Kane's own son, was known to have extended various kindnesses and courtesies to the prisoners.

Mr. Brent's complaint on this score seems almost ridiculous when one reads the full particulars of the affair, as published in the Philadelphia Freeman of December 4, 1851. That newspaper says:

"It affords us great pleasure to state, that the Christiana prisoners were not wholly forgotten on Thursday last in the

distribution of the good things pertaining to Thanksgiving. Thomas L. Kane, Esq. (son of the Judge), sent to the prison for their use six superior turkeys, two of them extra size, together with a pound cake, weighing 16 pounds. The turkeys were cooked with appropriate fixings, by order of Mr. Freed, the Superintendent, in the prison kitchen, by a female prisoner detached for the purpose. The dinner for the white prisoners, Messrs. Hanway, Lewis and Scarlet, was served in appropriate style in the room of Mr. Morrison, one of the keepers. The U. S. Marshal, A. E. Roberts, Esq., several of the keepers and Mr. Hawes, one of the prison officers, dined with the prisoners as their guests. Mayor Gilpin coming in, accepted an invitation to test the quality of the pound cake, Mrs. Martha Hanway who has the honor to be the wife of the 'traitor' of that name, and who has spent most of her time with her husband since his incarceration, served each of the 27 colored 'traitors' with a plate of turkey, potatoes, pound cake, &c., and the supply not being exhausted, all the prisoners on the same corridor were similarly supplied.

"Who will stand best with posterity—the father who prostitutes his powers as a judge to procure the conviction of peaceable citizens as traitors for refusing to aid in the capture of fugitive slaves, or the son who ministered to the wants of those citizens while incarcerated in a loathsome prison? Need we answer the question?"

The Maryland witnesses do not appear to have had as cheery a Thanksgiving as the prisoners. Dickinson Gorsuch's diary had this entry:

"THURSDAY, NOV. 27. "Thanksgiving Day. This has been a great holiday here; there was no court today. We went to Mr. Ashmead's office and stayed awhile. John Bacon went home after the clothes I wore when I was shot."

During their imprisonment the colored people and their families were largely supported by outside friends and sympathizers; and many an item such as this, recorded in the

cash book of B. L. Wood (father of Mrs. David W. Jackson), is set down to the credit of sympathetic friends:

10th mo. 8, 1851. Dr. 1 pair of pants and 1 shirt given to Elijah Clark in Moyamensing; also sent his wife qr. middlings.

In another respect the official complaints of Maryland's Governor and Attorney General against Pennsylvania justice call for correction at even this late day. Both aver that "the murder" of Kennedy, a slave owner, at Carlisle, killed in resistance of the fugitive slave law, went utterly unpunished: The facts are that in that offense the rioters and rescuers were led by John Clellans and he and thirty-six others were indicted. Besides Clellans twelve of the accused were convicted of riot and of riotously rescuing fugitive slaves from the lawful custody of their owners. Judge Hepburn sentenced them to solitary confinement at labor in the Eastern Penitentiary for three years. Charles Gibbons represented them on an appeal to the Supreme Court; and Deputy Attorney General (District Attorney) Bonham for the Commonwealth, argued before that tribunal that Pennsylvania followed the law of England, which upon conviction for riot authorized fine, imprisonment and the pillory, and therefore sentence to the penitentiary was lawful. Justice Burnside delivering the opinion of the Supreme Court, declared "it was an aggravated case of riot"; but that as Pennsylvania had adopted the English common law, the imprisonment must be in the county jail, and the final judgment of the court was that as the prisoners had been confined in the Eastern Penitentiary about three-fourths of a year, "we deem this as severe a punishment as if they had been confined in the county jail, where they legitimately should have been sent, for two years." (Clellans vs. Com. 8 Barr. 223.)

Meantime the friends of Hanway, Lewis and others, incensed at the continued prosecutions in Lancaster county, assumed the aggressive.

They procured the indictment to the January Sessions, 1852, No. 38, in Lancaster County, of Deputy Marshal Henry H. Kline, for perjury. It was laid in this indictment that he had sworn falsely at the hearing before Alderman Reigart, wherein he averred that he had shown his warrant to Hanway, asked him and Lewis to spare his men, that they defied the warrant and encouraged the rioters and in various other particulars. Upon this bill of indictment appeared the names of a large number of witnesses, and Kline was held in \$1,000 bail before Charles G. Freeman, alderman of Philadelphia, to answer at the Lancaster Court.

It appears from the subsequent history of the case that all parties involved were by this time willing to have "somebody help them to let go"; and accordingly at the January Sessions, Joseph McClure, of Bart township, being foreman of the jury, this bill against Kline for perjury, being No. 38, was ignored, and also the following, indictments all to the same sessions and for Riot: No. 57, William Brown; No. 58, Wm. Williams; No. 59, Henry Green; No. 60, William Brown, Jr.; No. 61, Benjamin Johnson; No. 63, Daniel Caulsberry; No. 64, George Wells; No. 65, George Williams; No. 66, Alson Pernsley; No. 67, Lewis Gales; No. 68, Lewis Clarkson; No. 69, Chas. Hunter; No. 70, Nelson Carter; No. 71, Jacob Woods, a brother of Peter Woods; No. 72, Peter Woods; No. 73, Israel Clarkson; No. 74, John Williams; No. 75, John Jackson; No. 76, Castner Hanway; No. 77, Elijah Lewis; No. 78, John Morgan; No. 81, Benjamin Pendergrass; No. 82, John Halliday; No. 83, Thomas Butler; No. 84, Elijah Clark; No. 85, Collister Wilson.

With this termination of the cases in the local courts all prosecutions were finally ended except that of Samuel Williams, in the United States District Court at Philadelphia. He was there charged with interfering with the execution of warrants for the arrest of Noah Buley and Joshua Hammond, runaway slaves. His case was first called for trial on

January 5, and continued until January 12. Mr. Ashmead and Messrs. Ludlow appeared for the prosecution, and R. P. Kane, W. S. Pierce and David Paul Brown for the defense. The following jury was empanelled to try his case; the last name on the list will be recognized as that of an estimable citizen of Lancaster County:

Pratt Roberts, Chester County; Thomas Vaughan, Philadelphia; Henry McMahan, Philadelphia; Patrick McBride, Philadelphia; Michael Keenan, Philadelphia; Fredk. Boley, Sr., Philadelphia; Joseph Dowden, Chester County; Samuel Culp, Germantown; Minshall Painter, Delaware County; Joseph Thornton, Philadelphia; Francis Parker, Chester County; Peter McConomy, Lancaster.

Kline was the principal witness on this trial, and his testimony was practically a repetition of what he had sworn to in the Hanway case. The trial judge fell ill during the progress of the case and it was continued the third time and resumed on February 2, argued to the jury on February 3, and, on February 4, a verdict of "not guilty" was rendered.

This closes the record of all judicial proceedings arising out of the Christiana Riot.

CHAPTER XII.

PARKEE'S OWN STORY.

The Leader of the Defenders Tells his Story of what Occurred at "the Riot" — The Author Gives Reasons why He takes the Narrative with Some Allowance — A Valuable Historical Contribution.

I deem it entirely fair and proper at this stage of the narrative to republish entire William Parker's own account of what took place at his house during "the Riot." It is reproduced in the assurance that each reader may — as he, and especially she, will — give it such credibility as the circumstances may command for it. It is fit that it be presented with certain qualifications to the general reader and to the increasing number who may peruse this history in the spirit in which it is written, viz., one of purely historic inquiry.

The *Atlantic Monthly* (Boston), for February, 1866, published the first part of what is entitled "The Freedman's Story," introduced by one who signed himself "E. K.," and said he was asked to revise it for publication "or weave its facts into a story which would show the fitness of the Southern black for the right of suffrage." The editor evades the natural inquiry whether the text is wholly Parker's or partially his own; but it is printed as that of a freedman or ex-slave and as evidence "of the manhood of his race to that impartial grand-jury, the American people."

Of course it cannot be unreservedly accepted for the purpose for which it was offered, that is: to prove the fitness of the Southern freedman for suffrage; for it is not the narrative of a man who was suddenly freed and enfranchised by the circumstances of war, but of one who became a fugitive slave many years earlier and had the advantage of Northern life and Canadian experience in the intervening period.

But it is of very decided value to this attempted impartial and impersonal history, because it purports to tell the story of the Riot as the man most responsible for it and most conspicuous in it saw and heard its incidents; and, because he never had an opportunity to tell it under the restraints of a judicial examination or the obligations of an oath. It must be taken as his voluntary testimony, when he had no hopes of reward or fear of punishment to incite or restrain him.

The earlier part of his life's story has been already abstracted, so far as it has any importance to this history. It leaves no room for doubt that he was a heroic and a desperate man; that he was instigated by ideas of personal liberty for himself and others, without regard to law; and that both offensively and defensively he was "enlisted for the war" to the death against all and every attempt to execute the Fugitive Slave Law.

Whether he is accurate in his statement of what occurred on the day of "the Riot," each reader must determine for himself or herself. For myself, individually, I doubt the literal truth of parts of his narration, while I concede that in the main it is true and it certainly throws more illumination on the actual occurrences than the testimony of any other single witness.

I detect a note of braggadocio through all Parker's narrative, which slightly discounts its truthfulness. His defiance of "all United States"; his admitted attempts to deceive Gorsuch as to the presence of his slaves on the premises; and his avowed purpose to shoot Gorsuch influence my judgment. Such considerations might not have weight with those who believe a man may be a good citizen who violates and defies a bad law. The literary style of "The Freedman's Story" leaves little room for doubt that his manuscript was edited by some one with a purpose other than strictly historical.

On the other hand, no other person was in so favorable a

position as Parker to tell the actual story of the Riot, if he saw fit to do so, and when this version was published Parker had nothing to gain or lose from telling the truth, but the zeal of his editor to exalt "the freedman" may have tintured the story. That he could remember its details so exactly as to verbally reproduce the many conversations in the *Atlantic* fifteen years later, is more than doubtful—it is impossible; and his pretense to do so discounts the attempt. In many respects the narration accords with the testimony of other eye-witnesses and it is not out of harmony in the main with the evidence produced on the trial. While it ascribes language to Mr. Gorsuch that likely he did not use, and may put into his hands weapons that he did not carry, Parker's story certainly gives the Gorsuches, father and son, due credit for valor; and it makes some of their allies scarcely more timid than the trial disclosed them to have been.

Howbeit, the story told by Parker is an essential part of the history of the case and it is here reprinted out of fairness to all parties so far as it relates to the Riot and events immediately preceding it.

WILLIAM PARKER'S STORY.

The *Atlantic Monthly* article, Part II, March, 1866, to which attention has been given, presupposes a previous account of Parker's early life, the escape of the Gorsuch slaves, the warrants for their re-capture, the departure of Deputy Marshal Kline to execute them and "Sam Williams's" mission to Lancaster County to warn them and their friends of the impending raid upon them, substantially as they have been told already. Parker then proceeds:

The information brought by Mr. Williams spread through the vicinity like a fire in the prairies; and when I went home from my work in the evening, I found Pinckney (whom I should have said before was my brother-in-law), Abraham Johnson, Samuel Thompson and Joshua Kite at my

house, all of them excited about the rumor. I laughed at them, and said it was all talk. This was the 10th of September, 1851. They stopped for the night with us, and we went to bed as usual. Before daylight, Joshua Kite rose, and started for his home. Directly, he ran back to the house, burst open the door, crying, "O William! kidnappers! kidnappers!"

He said that, when he was just beyond the yard, two men crossed before him, as if to stop him, and others came up on either side. As he said this, they had reached the door. Joshua ran up stairs (we slept up stairs), and they followed him; but I met them at the landing, and asked, "Who are you?"

The leader, Kline, replied, "I am the United States Marshal."

I then told him to take another step and I would break his neck.

He again said, "I am the United States Marshal."

I told him I did not care for him nor the United States. At that he turned and went down stairs.

Pinckney said, as he turned to go down, — "Where is the use in fighting? They will take us."

Kline heard him, and said, "Yes, give up, for we can and will take you anyhow."

I told them all not to be afraid, nor to give up to any slaveholder, but to fight until death.

"Yes," said Kline, "I have heard many a negro talk as big as you, and then have taken him; and I'll take you."

"You have not taken me yet," I replied; "and if you undertake it you will have your name recorded in history for this day's work."

Mr. Gorsuch then spoke, and said, — "Come, Mr. Kline, let's go up stairs and take them. We *can* take them. Come, follow me. I'll go up and get my property. What's in the

way? The law is in my favor, and the people are in my favor."

At that he began to ascend the stair; but I said to him, — "See here, old man, you can come up, but you can't go down again. Once up here, you are mine."

Kline then said — "Stop, Mr. Gorsuch. I will read the warrant, and then, I think, they will give up."

He then read the warrant, and said, — "Now, you see, we are commanded to take you, dead or alive; so you may as well give up at once."

"Go up, Mr. Kline," then said Gorsuch, "you are the Marshal."

Kline started, and when a little way up said, "I am coming."

I said, "Well, come on."

But he was too cowardly to show his face. He went down again and said, — "You had better give up without any more fuss, for we are bound to take you anyhow. I told you before that I was the United States Marshal, yet you will not give up. I'll not trouble the slaves. I will take you and make you pay for all."

"Well," I answered, "take me and make me pay for all. I'll pay for all."

Mr. Gorsuch then said, "You have my property."

To which I replied, — "Go in the room down there, and see if there is anything there belonging to you. There are beds and a bureau, chairs, and other things. Then go out to the barn; there you will find a cow and some hogs. See if any of them are yours."

He said, — "They are not mine; I want my men. They are here, and I am bound to have them."

Thus we parleyed for a time, all because of the pusillanimity of the Marshal, when he, at last, said, — "I am tired waiting on you; I see you are not going to give up. Go to the

barn and fetch some straw," said he to one of his men. "I will set the house on fire, and burn them up."

"Burn us up and welcome," said I. "None but a coward would say the like. You can burn us, but you can't take us; before I give up, you will see my ashes scattered on the earth."

By this time day had begun to dawn; and then my wife came to me and asked if she should blow the horn, to bring friends to our assistance. I assented, and she went to the garret for the purpose. When the horn sounded from the garret window, one of the ruffians asked the others what it meant; and Kline said to me, "What do you mean by blowing that horn?"

I did not answer. It was a custom with us, when a horn was blown at an unusual hour, to proceed to the spot promptly to see what was the matter. Kline ordered his men to shoot any one they saw blowing the horn. There was a peach-tree at that end of the house. Up it two of the men climbed; and when my wife went a second time to the window, they fired as soon as they heard the blast, but missed their aim. My wife then went down on her knees, and, drawing her head and body below the range of the window, the horn resting on the sill, blew blast after blast, while the shots poured thick and fast around her. They must have fired ten or twelve times. The house was of stone, and the windows were deep, which alone preserved her life.

They were evidently disconcerted by the blowing of the horn. Gorsuch said again, "I want my property, and I will have it."

"Old man," said I, "you look as if you belonged to some persuasion."

"Never mind," he answered, "what persuasion I belong to; I want my property."

While I was leaning out of the window, Kline fired a pistol at me, but the shot went too high; the ball broke the glass just above my head. I was talking to Gorsuch at the time.

I seized a gun and aimed it at Gorsuch's breast, for he evidently had instigated Kline to fire; but Pinckney caught my arm and said, "Don't shoot." The gun went off, just grazing Gorsuch's shoulder. Another conversation then ensued between Gorsuch, Kline, and myself, when another one of the party fired at me but missed. Dickinson Gorsuch, I then saw, was preparing to shoot; and I told him if he missed, I would show him where shooting first came from.

I asked them to consider what they would have done, had they been in our position. "I know you want to kill us," I said; "for you have shot at us time and again. We have only fired twice, although we have guns and ammunition, and could kill you all if we would, but we do not want to shed blood."

"If you do not shoot any more," then said Kline, "I will stop my men from firing."

They then ceased for a time. This was about sunrise.

Mr. Gorsuch now said,—"Give up and let me have my property. Hear what the Marshal says; the Marshal is your friend. He advises you to give up without more fuss, for my property I will have."

I denied that I had his property when he replied, "You have my men."

"Am I your man?" I asked.

"No."

I then called Pinckney forward.

"Is that your man?"

"No."

Abraham Johnson I called next, but Gorsuch said he was not his man.

The only plan left was to call both Pinckney and Johnson again; for had I called the others, he would have recognized them, for they were his slaves.

Abraham Johnson said, "Does such a shrivelled up old

slaveholder as you own such a nice, genteel young man as I am?"

At this Gorsuch took offence, and charged me with dictating his language. I then told him there were but five of us, which he denied, and still insisted that I had his property. One of the party then attacked the Abolitionists, affirming that, although they declared there could not be property in man, the Bible was conclusive authority in favor of property in human flesh.

"Yes," said Gorsuch, "does not the Bible say, 'Servants, obey your masters'?"

I said that it did, but the same Bible said, "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal."

At this stage of the proceedings, we went into a mutual Scripture inquiry, and bandied views in the manner of garrulous old wives.

When I spoke of duty to servants, Gorsuch said, "Do you know that?"

"Where," I asked, "do you see it in Scripture that a man should traffic in his brother's blood?"

"Do you call a nigger my brother?" said Gorsuch.

"Yes," said I.

"William," said Samuel Thompson, "he has been a class-leader."

When Gorsuch heard that, he hung his head, but said nothing. We then all joined in singing,—

"Leader, what do you say
About the judgment day?
I will die on the field of battle,
Die on the field of battle,
With glory in my soul."

Then we all began to shout, singing meantime, and shouted for a long while. Gorsuch, who was standing head bowed, said "What are you doing now?"

Samuel Thompson replied, "Preaching a sinner's funeral sermon."

"You had better give up, and come down."

I then said to Gorsuch, — "'If a brother see a sword coming, and he warn not his brother, then the brother's blood is required at his hands; but if the brother see the sword coming, and warn his brother, and his brother flee not, then his brother's blood is required at his own hand.' I see the sword coming, and, old man, I warn you to flee; if you flee not, your blood be upon your own hand."

It was now about seven o'clock.

"You had better give up," said old Mr. Gorsuch, after another while, "and come down, for I have come a long way this morning, and want my breakfast; for my property I will have, or I'll breakfast in hell. I will go up and get it."

He then started up stairs, and came far enough to see us all plainly. We were just about to fire upon him, when Dickinson Gorsuch, who was standing on the old oven, before the door, and could see into the up-stairs room through the window, jumped down and caught his father, saying, — "O father, do come down! do come down! They have guns, swords, and all kinds of weapons! They'll kill you! Do come down!"

The old man turned and left. When down with him, young Gorsuch could scarce draw breath, and the father looked more like a dead than a living man, so frightened were they at their supposed danger. The old man stood some time without saying anything; at last he said, as if soliloquizing, "I want my property, and I will have it."

Kline broke forth, "If you don't give up by fair means, you will have to by foul."

I told him we would not surrender on any conditions.

Young Gorsuch then said, — "Don't ask them to give up, — *make* them do it. We have money, and can call men to take them. What is it that money won't buy?"

Then said Kline, — "I am getting tired waiting on you; I see you are not going to give up."

He then wrote a note and handed it to Joshua Gorsuch, saying at the same time, — "Take it, and bring a hundred men from Lancaster."

As he started, I said, — "See here! When you go to Lancaster, don't bring a hundred men, — bring five hundred. It will take all the men in Lancaster to change our purpose or take us alive."

He stopped to confer with Kline, when Pinckney said, "We had better give up."

"You are getting afraid," said I.

"Yes," said Kline, "give up like men. The rest would give up if it were not for you."

"I am not afraid," said Pinckney; "but where is the sense in fighting against so many men, and only five of us?"

The whites, at this time, were coming from all quarters, and Kline was enrolling them as fast as they came. Their numbers alarmed Pinckney, and I told him to go and sit down; but he said, "No, I will go down stairs."

I told him, if he attempted it, I should be compelled to blow out his brains. "Don't believe that any living man can take you," I said. "Don't give up to any slaveholder."

To Abraham Johnson, who was near me, I then turned. He declared he was not afraid. "I will fight till I die," he said.

At this time, Hannah, Pinckney's wife, had become impatient of our persistent course; and my wife, who brought me her message urging us to surrender, seized a corn-cutter, and declared she would cut off the head of the first one who should attempt to give up.

Another one of Gorsuch's slaves was coming along the high-road at this time, and I beckoned to him to go around. Pinckney saw him, and soon became more inspired. Elijah Lewis, a Quaker, also came along about this time: I beckoned to him, likewise; but he came straight on, and was met by Kline, who ordered him to assist him. Lewis asked for his authority,

and Kline handed him the warrant. While Lewis was reading, Castner Hanway came up, and Lewis handed the warrant to him. Lewis asked Kline what Parker said.

Kline replied, "He won't give up."

Then Lewis and Hanway both said to the Marshal,—"If Parker says they will not give up, you had better let them alone, for he will kill some of you. We are not going to risk our lives"—and they turned to go away.

While they were talking, I came down and stood in the doorway, my men following behind.

Old Mr. Gorsuch said, when I appeared, "They'll come out, and get away!" and he came back to the gate.

I then said to him,—"You said you could and would take us. Now you have the chance."

They were a cowardly-looking set of men.

Mr. Gorsuch said, "You can't come out here."

"Why?" said I. "This is my place. I pay rent for it. I'll let you see if I can't come out."

"I don't care if you do pay rent for it," said he. "If you come out, I will give you the contents of these"—presenting, at the same time, two revolvers, one in each hand.

I said, "Old man, if you don't go away, I will break your neck."

I then walked up to where he stood his arms resting on the gate, trembling as if afflicted with palsy, and laid my hand on his shoulder, saying, "I have seen pistols before to-day." Kline now came running up, and entreated Gorsuch to come away.

"No," said the latter, "I will have my property, or go to hell."

"What do you intend to do?" said Kline to me.

"I intend to fight," said I. "I intend to try your strength."

"If you will withdraw your men," he replied, "I will withdraw mine."

I told him it was too late. "You would not withdraw when you had the chance,—you shall not now."

Kline then went back to Hanway and Lewis. Gorsuch made a signal to his men, and they all fell into line. I followed his example as well as I could; but as we were not more than ten paces apart, it was difficult to do so. At this time we numbered but ten, while there were between thirty and forty of the white men.

While I was talking to Gorsuch, his son said, "Father, will you take all this from a nigger?"

I answered him by saying that I respected old age; but that, if he would repeat that, I should knock his teeth down his throat. At this he fired upon me, and I ran up to him and knocked the pistol out of his hand, when he let the other one fall and ran in the field.

My brother-in-law, who was standing near, then said, "I can stop him"—and with his double-barrel gun he fired.

Young Gorsuch fell, but rose and ran on again. Pinckney fired a second time and again Gorsuch fell, but was soon up again and, running into the cornfield, lay down in the fence corner.

I returned to my men, and found Samuel Thompson talking to old Mr. Gorsuch, his master. They were both angry.

"Old man, you had better go home to Maryland," said Samuel.

"You had better give up, and come home with me," said the old man.

Thompson took Pinckney's gun from him, struck Gorsuch, and brought him to his knees. Gorsuch rose and signalled to his men. Thompson then knocked him down again, and he again rose. At this time all the white men opened fire, and we rushed upon them; when they turned, threw down their guns and ran away. We, being closely engaged, clubbed our rifles. We were too closely pressed to fire, but we found a good deal could be done with empty guns.

Old Mr. Gorsuch was the bravest of his party; he held on to his pistols until the last, while all the others threw away their weapons. I saw as many as three at a time fighting with him. Sometimes he was on his knees, then on his back, and again his feet would be where his head should be. He was a fine soldier and a brave man. Whenever he saw the least opportunity, he would take aim. While in close quarters with the whites, we could load and fire but two or three times. Our guns got bent and out of order. So damaged did they become, that we could shoot with but two or three of them. Samuel Thompson bent his gun on old Mr. Gorsuch so badly, that it was of no use to us.

When the white men ran, they scattered. I ran after Nathan Nelson, but could not catch him. I never saw a man run faster. Returning, I saw Joshua Gorsuch coming, and Pinckney behind him. I reminded him that he would like "to take hold of a nigger." told him that now was his "chance," and struck him a blow on the side of the head, which stopped him. Pinckney came up behind, and gave him a blow which brought him to the ground; as the others passed, they gave him a kick or jumped upon him, until the blood oozed out at his ears.

Nicholas Hutchings and Nathan Nelson of Baltimore County, Maryland, could outrun any men I ever saw. They and Kline were not brave, like the Gorsuches. Could our men have got them, they would have been satisfied.

One of our men ran after Dr. Pierce, as he richly deserved attention; but Pierce caught up with Castner Hanway, who rode between the fugitive and the Doctor, to shield him and some others. Hanway was told to get out of the way, or he would forfeit his life; he went aside quickly, and the man fired at the Marylander, but missed him,—he was too far off. I do not know whether he was wounded or not; but I do know that, if it had not been for Hanway, he would have been killed.

Having driven the slavocrats off in every direction, our party now turned towards their several homes. Some of us, however, went back to my house, where we found several of the neighbors.

The scene at the house beggars description. Old Mr. Gorsuch was lying in the yard in a pool of blood, and confusion reigned both inside and outside of the house.

Levi Pownall said to me, "The weather is so hot and the flies are so bad, will you give me a sheet to put over the corpse?"

In reply, I gave him permission to get anything he needed from the house.

"Dickinson Gorsuch is lying in the fence-corner, and I believe he is dying. Give me something for him to drink," said Pownall, who seemed to be acting the part of the Good Samaritan.

When he returned from ministering to Dickinson, he told me he could not live.

The riot, so called, was now entirely ended. The elder Gorsuch was dead; his son and nephew were both wounded, and I have reason to believe others were,—how many, it would be difficult to say. Of our party, only two were wounded. One received a ball in his hand, near the wrist; but it only entered the skin, and he pushed it out with his thumb. Another received a ball in the fleshy part of his thigh, which had to be extracted; but neither of them were sick or crippled by the wounds. When young Gorsuch fired at me in the early part of the battle, both balls passed through my hat, cutting off my hair close to the skin, but they drew no blood. The marks were not more than an inch apart.

A story was afterwards circulated that Mr. Gorsuch shot his own slave, and in retaliation his slave shot him; but it was without foundation. His slave struck him the first and second blows; then three or four sprang upon him, and, when he became helpless, left him to pursue others. *The women*

put an end to him. His slaves, so far from meeting death at his hands, are all still living.

After the fight, my wife was obliged to secrete herself, leaving the children in care of her mother, and to the charities of our neighbors. I was questioned by my friends as to what I should do, as they were looking for officers to arrest me. I determined not to be taken alive, and told them so; but, thinking advice as to our future course necessary, went to see some old friends and consult about it. Their advice was to leave, as, were we captured and imprisoned, they could not foresee the result. Acting upon this hint, we set out for home, when we met some female friends, who told us that forty or fifty armed men were at my house, looking for me, and that we had better stay away from the place, if we did not want to be taken. Abraham Johnson and Pinckney hereupon halted, to agree upon the best course, while I turned around and went another way.

Before setting out on my long journey northward, I determined to have an interview with my family, if possible, and to that end changed my course. As we went along the road to where I found them, we met men in companies of three and four, who had been drawn together by the excitement. On one occasion, we met ten or twelve together. They all left the road, and climbed over the fences into fields to let us pass; and then after we had passed, turned, and looked after us as far as they could see. Had we been carrying destruction to all human kind, they could not have acted more absurdly. We went to a friend's house and stayed for the rest of the day, and until nine o'clock that night when we set out for Canada.

The great trial now was to leave my wife and family. Uncertain as to the result of the journey, I felt I would rather die than be separated from them. It had to be done, however; and we went forth with heavy hearts, outcasts for the sake of liberty. When we had walked as far as Christi-

ana, we saw a large crowd, late as it was, to some of whom, at least, I must have been known, as we heard distinctly, "A'n't that Parker?"

"Yes," was answered, "that's Parker."

Kline was called for, and he, with some nine or ten more, followed after. We stopped, and then they stopped. One said to his comrades, "Go on, — that's him." And another replied, "You go." So they contended for a time who should come to us. At last they went back. I was sorry to see them go back, for I wanted to meet Kline and end the day's transactions.

We went on unmolested to Penningtonville; and, in consequence of the excitement, thought best to continue on to Parkesburg. Nothing worth mention occurred for a time. We proceeded to Downingtown, and thence six miles beyond, to the house of a friend. We stopped with him on Saturday night, and on the evening of the 14th went fifteen miles farther. Here I learned from a preacher, directly from the city, that the excitement in Philadelphia was too great for us to risk our safety by going there. Another man present advised us to go to Norristown.

At Norristown we rested a day. The friends gave us ten dollars, and sent us in a vehicle to Quakertown. Our driver, being partly intoxicated, set us down at the wrong place, which obliged us to stay out all night. At eleven o'clock the next day we got to Quakertown. We had gone about six miles out of the way, and had to go directly across the country. We rested the 16th, and set out in the evening for Friendsville.

A friend piloted us some distance, and we travelled until we became very tired, when we went to bed under a haystack. On the 17th, we took breakfast at an inn. We passed a small village, and asked a man whom we met with a dearborn, what would be his charge to Windgap. "One dollar and fifty

cents," was the ready answer. So in we got, and rode to that place.

As we wanted to make some inquiries when we struck the north and south road, I went into the post-office, and asked for a letter for John Thomas, which of course I did not get. The postmaster scrutinized us closely, — more so, indeed, than any one had done on the Blue Mountains, — but informed us that Friendsville was between forty and fifty miles away. After going about nine miles, we stopped in the evening of the 18th at an inn, got supper, were politely served, and had an excellent night's rest. On the next day we set out for Tannersville, hiring a conveyance for twenty-two miles of the way. We had no further difficulty on the entire road to Rochester, — more than five hundred miles by the route we travelled.

Some amusing incidents occurred, however, which it may be well to relate in this connection. The next morning, after stopping at the tavern, we took the cars and rode to Homer-ville, where, after waiting an hour, as our landlord of the night previous had directed us, we took stage. Being the first applicants for tickets, we secured inside seats, and, from the number of us, we took up all of the places inside; but, another traveller coming, I tendered him mine, and rode with the driver. The passenger thanked me; but the driver, a churl, and the most prejudiced person I ever came in contact with, would never wait after a stop until I could get on, but would drive away, and leave me to swing, climb, or cling on to the stage as best I could. Our traveller, at last noticing his behavior, told him promptly not to be so fast, but let all passengers get on, which had the effect to restrain him a little.

At Big Eddy we took the cars. Directly opposite me sat a gentleman, who, on learning that I was for Rochester, said he was going there too, and afterwards proved an agreeable travelling companion.

A newsboy came in with papers, some of which the pas-

sengers bought. Upon opening them, they read of the fight at Christiana.

"O, see here!" said my neighbor; "great excitement at Christiana; a — a statesman killed, and his son and nephew badly wounded."

After reading, the passengers began to exchange opinions on the case. Some said they would like to catch Parker, and get the thousand dollars reward offered by the State; but the man opposite to me said, "Parker must be a powerful man."

I thought to myself, "If you could tell what I can, you could judge about that."

Pinckney and Johnson became alarmed, and wanted to leave the cars at the next stopping-place; but I told them there was no danger. I then asked particularly about Christiana, where it was, on what railroad, and other questions, to all of which I received correct replies. One of the men became so much attached to me, that, when we would go to an eating-saloon, he would pay for both. At Jefferson we thought of leaving the cars, and taking the boat; but they told us to keep on the cars, and we would get to Rochester by nine o'clock the next night.

We left Jefferson about four o'clock in the morning, and arrived at Rochester at nine the same morning. Just before reaching Rochester, when in conversation with my travelling friend, I ventured to ask what would be done with Parker, should he be taken.

"I do not know," he replied; "but the laws of Pennsylvania would not hang him, — they might imprison him. But it would be different, very different, should they get him into Maryland. The people in all the Slave States are so prejudiced against colored people, that they never give them justice. But I don't believe they will get Parker. I think he is in Canada by this time; at least, I hope so, — for I believe he did right and, had I been in his place, I would have done as he did. Any good citizen will say the same. I believe

Parker to be a brave man; and all you colored people should look at it as we white people look at our brave men, and do as we do. You see Parker was not fighting for a country, nor for praise. He was fighting for freedom: he only wanted liberty, as other men do. You colored people should protect him, and remember him as long as you live. We are coming near our parting-place, and I do not know if we shall ever meet again. I shall be in Rochester some two or three days before I return home; and I would like to have your company back."

I told him it would be some time before we returned.

The cars then stopped, when he bade me good by. As strange as it may appear, he did not ask me my name; and I was afraid to inquire his, from fear he would.

On leaving the cars, after walking two or three squares, we overtook a colored man, who conducted us to the house of a friend of mine. He welcomed me at once, as we were acquainted before, took me up stairs to wash and comb, and prepare, as he said, for company.

As I was combing, a lady came up and said, "Which of you is Mr. Parker?"

"I am," said I, — "what there is left of me."

She gave me her hand, and said, "And this is William Parker!"

She appeared to be so excited that she could not say what she wished to. We were told we would not get much rest, and we did not; for visitors were constantly coming. One gentleman was surprised that we got away from the cars, as spies were all about, and there were two thousand dollars reward for the party.

We left at eight o'clock that evening, in a carriage, for the boat, bound for Kingston in Canada. As we went on board, the bell was ringing. After walking about a little, a friend pointed out to me the officers on the "hunt" for us; and just as the boat pushed off from the wharf, some of our

friends on shore called me by name. Our pursuers looked very much like fools, as they were. I told one of the gentlemen on shore to write to Kline that I was in Canada. Ten dollars were generously contributed by the Rochester friends for our expenses; and altogether their kindness was heartfelt, and was most gratefully appreciated by us.

Once on the boat, and fairly out at sea towards the land of liberty, my mind became calm, and my spirits very much depressed at thought of my wife and children. Before, I had little time to think much about them, my mind being on my journey. Now I became silent and abstracted. Although fond of company, no one was company for me now.

We landed at Kingston on the 21st of September, at six o'clock in the morning, and walked around for a long time, without meeting any one we had ever known. At last, however, I saw a colored man I knew in Maryland. He at first pretended to have no knowledge of me, but finally recognized me. I made known our distressed condition when he said he was not going home then, but, if we would have breakfast, he would pay for it. How different the treatment received from this man — himself an exile for the sake of liberty, and in its full enjoyment on free soil — and the self-sacrificing spirit of our Rochester colored brother, who made haste to welcome us to his ample home, — the well-earned reward of his faithful labors!

On Monday evening, the 23d, we started for Toronto, where we arrived safely the next day. Directly after landing, we heard that Governor Johnston, of Pennsylvania, had made a demand on the Governor of Canada for me, under the Extradition Treaty. Pinckney and Johnson advised me to go to the country, and remain where I should not be known; but I refused. I intended to see what they would do with me. Going at once to the Government House, I entered the first office I came to. The official requested me to be seated. The following is the substance of the conversation between us,

as near as I can remember. I told him I had heard that Governor Johnston, of Pennsylvania, had requested his government to send me back. At this he came forward, held forth his hand, and said, "Is this Wililam Parker?"

I took his hand, and assured him I was the man. When he started to come, I thought he was intending to seize me, and I prepared myself to knock him down. His genial sympathetic manner it was that convinced me he meant well.

He made me sit down, and said—"Yes, they want you back again. Will you go?"

"I will not be taken back alive," said I. "I ran away from my master to be free,—I have run from the United States to be free. I am now going to stop running."

"Are you a fugitive from labor?" he asked.

I told him I was.

"Why," he answered, "they say you are a fugitive from justice." He then asked me where my master lived.

I told him, "In Anne Arundel County, Maryland."

"Is there such a county in Maryland?" he asked.

"There is," I answered.

He took down a map, examined it, and said, "You are right."

I then told him the name of the farm, and my master's name. Further questions bearing upon the country towns near, the nearest river, etc., followed, all of which I answered to his satisfaction.

"How does it happen," he then asked, "that you lived in Pennsylvania so long, and no person knew you were a fugitive from labor?"

"I do not get other people to keep my secrets, sir," I replied. "My brother and family only knew that I had been a slave."

He then assured me that I would not, in his opinion, have to go back. Many coming in at this time on business, I was told to call again at three o'clock, which I did. The person

in the office, a clerk, told me to take no further trouble about it, until that day four weeks. "But you are as free a man as I am," said he. When I told the news to Pinckney and Johnson, they were greatly relieved in mind.

I ate breakfast with the greatest relish, got a letter written to a friend in Chester County for my wife, and set about arrangements to settle at or near Toronto.

We tried hard to get work, but the task was difficult. I think three weeks elapsed before we got work that could be called work. Sometimes we would secure a small job, worth two or three shillings, and sometimes a smaller one, worth not more than one shilling; and these not oftener than once or twice in a week. We became greatly discouraged; and, to add to my misery, I was constantly hearing some alarming report about my wife and children. Sometimes they had carried her back into slavery, — sometimes the children, and sometimes the entire party. Then there would come a contradiction. I was soon so completely worn down by my fears for them, that I thought my heart would break. To add to my disquietude, no answer came to my letters, although I went to the office regularly every day. At last I got a letter with the glad news that my wife and children were safe, and would be sent to Canada. I told the person reading for me to stop, and tell them to send her "right now," — I could not wait to hear the rest of the letter.

Two months from the day I landed in Toronto, my wife arrived, but without the children. She had had a very bad time. Twice they had her in custody; and, a third time, her young master came after her, which obliged her to flee before day, so that the children had to remain behind for the time. I was so glad to see her that I forgot about the children.

The day my wife came, I had nothing but the clothes on my back, and was in debt for my board, without any work to depend upon. My situation was truly distressing. I took

the resolution, and went to a store where I made known my circumstances to the proprietor, offering to work for him to pay for some necessaries. He readily consented, and I supplied myself with bedding, meal and flour. As I had selected a place before, we went that evening about two miles into the country, and settled ourselves for the winter.

When in Kingston, I had heard of the Buxton settlement, and of the Revds. Dr. Willis and Mr. King, the agents. My informant, after stating all the particulars, induced me to think it was a desirable place; and having quite a little sum of money due to me in the States, I wrote for it, and waited until May. It not being sent, I called upon Dr. Willis, who treated me kindly. I proposed to settle in Elgin, if he would loan means for the first instalment. He said he would see about it, and I should call again. On my second visit, he agreed to assist me, and proposed that I should get another man to go on a lot with me.

Abraham Johnson and I arranged to settle together, and, with Dr. Willis's letter to Mr. King on our behalf, I embarked with my family on a schooner for the West. After five days' sailing, we reached Windsor. Not having the means to take us to Chatham, I called upon Henry Bibb, and laid my case before him. He took us in, treated us with great politeness, and afterwards took me with him to Detroit, where, after an introduction to some friends, a purse of five dollars was made up. I divided the money among my companions, and started them for Chatham, but was obliged to stay at Windsor and Detroit two days longer.

While stopping at Windsor, I went again to Detroit, with two or three friends, when, at one of the steamboats just landed, some officers arrested three fugitives, on pretence of being horse thieves. I was satisfied they were slaves, and said so, when Henry Bibb went to the telegraph office and learned through a message that they were. In the crowd and excitement, the sheriff threatened to imprison me for

my interference. I felt indignant, and told him to do so, whereupon he opened the door. About this time there was more excitement, and then a man slipped into the jail, unseen by the officers, opened the gate, and the three prisoners went out, and made their escape to Windsor. I stopped through that night in Detroit, and started the next day for Chatham, where I found my family snugly provided for at a boarding-house kept by Mr. Younge.

Chatham was a thriving town at that time, and the genuine liberty enjoyed by its numerous colored residents pleased me greatly; but our destination was Buxton, and thither we went on the following day. We arrived there in the evening, and I called immediately upon Mr. King, and presented Dr. Willis's letter. He received me very politely, and said that, after I should feel rested, I could go out and select a lot. He also kindly offered to give me meal and pork for my family, until I could get work.

In due time, Johnson and I each chose a fifty-acre lot for although when in Toronto we agreed with Dr. Willis to take one lot between us, when we saw the land we thought we could pay for two lots. I got the money in a little time, and paid the Doctor back. I built a house, and we moved into it that same fall, and in it I live yet. (1866.)

When I first settled in Buxton, the white settlers in the vicinity were much opposed to colored people. Their prejudices were very strong; but the spread of intelligence and religion in the community has wrought a great change in them. Prejudice is fast being uprooted; indeed, they do not appear like the same people that they were. In a short time I hope the foul spirit will depart entirely.

I have now to bring my narrative to a close; and in so doing I would return thanks to Almighty God for the many mercies and favors he has bestowed upon me, and especially for delivering me out of the hands of slaveholders, and placing me in a land of liberty, where I can worship God under

my own vine and fig-tree, with none to molest or make me afraid. I am also particularly thankful to my old friends and neighbors in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania,—to the friends in Norristown, Quakertown, Rochester, and Detroit, and to Dr. Willis of Toronto, for their disinterested benevolence and kindness to me and my family. When hunted, they sheltered me; when hungry and naked, they clothed and fed me; and when a stranger in a strange land, they aided and encouraged me. May the Lord in his great mercy remember and bless them, as they remembered and blessed me.

CHAPTER XIII.

AFTER THE WAR.

Peter Woods the Sole Survivor — Castner Hanway's Later Days — The Descendants and Relatives of the Principal Actors in the Drama — Concluding Reflections on the Affair.

The sole survivor of those who were directly involved in the events that have been narrated is Peter Woods, a very respectable colored man, who does not know his own age, but who likely is an octogenarian and was twenty years old when the riot occurred. He lives on his little farm of fifty-eight acres, in Colerain Township, just south of Bartville, with his good wife, and the youngest of his thirteen living children, the family being much esteemed by those who know its members. He was a soldier in the Union Army, having served nearly three years in the Third Regiment, Colored U. S. Infantry. During the war he met Alex. Pinckney, at Charleston, S. C., who was also a soldier in one of the Northern regiments. Recently his pension was increased through the influence of Congressman W. W. Griest, of the Lancaster district — who is a son of Major Ellwood Griest, author of the vigorous Bart resolutions of 1850. In the absence of precise proof that Peter Woods was above seventy-five years of age, the United States Government assumed that it would not have indicted a boy of fifteen for treason.

The descendants of Edward Gorsuch maintain the high social station of their family in Maryland. They were Methodists in religion and Whigs in politics, and are now Republicans; during the civil war they zealously supported the Union cause.

Edward Gorsuch's immediate descendants are Mrs. W. W. Campbell and children, of Orwig's Mills, Md.; Mrs. T. B.

Todd, Jr., of Fort Howard, Md., who is a daughter of Alex. Morrison; Mrs. E. D. Duncan, of Govans, Md.; Mrs. Fannie Thomas, Wilmer Black and Anna Black, the last four being children of Melinda Gorsuch, intermarried with Robert Black; and Mrs. R. F. Mitchell, wife of Dr. F. G. Mitchell, of Glencoe, Md. (who was the daughter of Dickinson Gorsuch), her son and two daughters, the youngest of whom, as an infant, appears in the arms of "Mammy" Kelly, one of the illustrations of this volume.

Joseph Scarlet died July 8, 1882; his descendants are as follows:

I. Children — Joseph Scarlett, 5313 Master Street, Philadelphia; Annie V. Scarlett, Mary E. Scarlett, 1413 Peach Street, Philadelphia; William Scarlett, 5444 Girard Avenue, Philadelphia; Mrs. Ella A. Jackson, 304 North Franklin Street, West Chester, Pa.

II. Grandchildren — J. Ralph Scarlett, Inda Scarlett Conrow, Elsie J. Scarlett, Edwin W. Scarlett, Anne Scarlett Custer, Dr. Charles J. Morell, Florence M. Christ, T. Harold Jackson, William Scarlett, Leslie Scarlett, Richard Scarlett.

III. Great-grandchildren — Lavinia Scarlett, Helen Scarlett, John S. Custer, Charles J. Morell, Jr.

Elijah Lewis died Oct. 18, 1884, aged 86; his descendants are as follows:

I. Children — Mrs. Martha A. Cooper, Palmyra, N. J.

II. Grandchildren — Samuel Brinton, farmer, West Chester, Pa., R. F. D.; Henry Brinton, 2408 Bryn Mawr Avenue, West Philadelphia; Edwin Brinton, 5584 Hunter Avenue, West Philadelphia; Mrs. Emma B. Maule, R. F. D., Cochranville, Pa.; Alfred Brinton, Christiana, Pa.; Mrs. Clara B. Maule, Gum Tree, Chester County, Pa.; Harry P. Cooper, 14 Ruby Street, Lancaster, Pa.; Mrs. D. W. Miller, Linfield, Montgomery County, Pa.; Mrs. Anna Cooper, Santa Barbara, California; Mrs. George Paschall, Jr., Port Kennedy, Pa., and Miss Mary Cooper, 2408 Bryn Mawr Avenue, West Philadelphia, Pa. (W. L. Cooper, superintendent of the

Bedford division P. R. R., who recently met tragic death by drowning in the Susquehanna river, was a grandson.)

III. Great Grandchildren — Roy Cooper, Fairmount, W. Va.; Herbert Cooper, Parkesburg, Pa.; Helen Cooper, Santa Barbara, Cal.; Clement S. Brinton, 213 Euclid Avenue, Had-donfield, N. J.; Francis D. Brinton, West Chester, Pa.; Willard C. Brinton, 70 West 46th Street, New York; Ellen S. Brinton, R. F. D., West Chester, Pa.; Robert F. Brinton, R. F. D., West Chester, Pa.; Wilfred Cooper, Bedford, Pa.; C. Burleigh Cooper, Christiana, Pa.; Harry Brinton, 2408 Bryn Mawr Avenue, Philadelphia, Pa.; Lewis Brinton, Octoraro, Lancaster Co., Pa.; Thomas Brinton, minister, Octoraro, Pa.; Mrs. Jesse Webster, Mrs. John Dochter, Christiana, Pa., and Evan J. Lewis, George School, Bucks Co., Pa.

Castner Hanway suffered most in expense and anxiety from the trial. He resided for years after it ended in Chester and Lancaster Counties, but in 1878 removed to Wilber, Nebraska. His first wife, Martha, daughter of Jesse and Letitia Lamborn, who was with him during his trial, died August 20, 1855. Later he married Hannah, daughter of Moses and Mary Pennock, who died January 1, 1864. Later he married a Miss Johnston, a relative of Governor Johnston, who was the Chief Executive of Pennsylvania in 1851. She is still living. Castner Hanway himself died May 26, 1893; his remains were brought East and buried in the cemetery at the famous Longwood meeting house of the Progressive Friends, in Chester County, made memorable by anti-slavery meetings addressed by Whittier, Lucretia Mott and others eminent in literature; and in which quiet graveyard are the chaste tombs of Bayard Taylor, poet, novelist, traveler, journalist and diplomat, and of his brother, Colonel Frank Taylor, one of the heroes and martyrs of Gettysburg.

The Longwood Yearly Meeting soon after Hanway's death adopted a memorial prepared by Patience W. Kent, which said of him:

“One week ago the earthly form of Castner Hanway was

laid in yonder cemetery. A quiet, unobtrusive man, he gave no token that his name was one to conjure newspaper notoriety, or stir the wrathful vengeance of the baffled slave power, as it did at one time. Yet in him, was the stuff of which heroes are made. 'He stood by his colors' when that was all he could do." During the ninety-seven days that he was in prison he never once complained. He wrote to his wife from there, 'I do not regret my course; I have simply done my duty.' With a nature capable of asserting such a beautiful sentiment in the face of so great mental and financial agony, surely the reward in the Eternal Kingdom would be: 'Well done, thou good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things; enter thou into the joys of thy Lord.'"

Hanway left no descendants. His collateral relatives, so far as known, were:

Jackson Hanway, deceased, a brother, whose children are: Ida Hanway Whiteside, Christiana, Pa.; Ella Hanway Skelton, 1725 Lindenwood Street, Philadelphia; Wilmer Everett Hanway, 1716 North 55th Street, Philadelphia.

John Hanway, deceased, a brother, leaving a son, Joseph Hanway, Hamorton, Chester County, Pa.

Ellis Hanway, deceased, a brother, whose children are: Mrs. Louisa Booth, Gap, Lancaster County, Pa., and William Hanway, 1038 Lowell Street, New York City, N. Y.

Washington Hanway, deceased, a brother, leaving one child, Mrs. Clara Hanway Pierce, 317 South Queen Street, York, Pa.

Phoebe H. Gray, deceased, a sister, whose son is Albert Gray.

Hannah Ellis H. Fairlamb, deceased, a sister, who left children: Elizabeth Barnes, West Chester, Pa.; and Robert Fairlamb.

Rebecca H. McDade, deceased, a sister, late of Norristown, Pa.

"After Life's fitful fever" they who fought and suffered and died all "sleep well." "There is no work, nor device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave." While governments shall endure and organized society of human order shall continue, the ceaseless contest will go on between Law and Liberty. As the temperaments of men vary they will differ as to which side of that struggle they should or will espouse; and Human Wisdom will forever be insufficient to avert occasional conflict. From it, however, will emerge Peace; and as the parties to the struggle and their children's children look back upon the contention that once raged, they will come more and more clearly to see that it was inevitable; and they will look with kindlier judgment upon the motives which inspired antagonistic forces. They will also see in the outcome and settlement a Final Cause, shaping events and determining results, one that could not be recognized in the smoke and dust of the immediate battle; but which the clear, cold light of History makes visible to all who would see the Truth. In his matchless lyric of the Civil War, the most sublime note that has been sounded from all the literature inspired by that great National Crisis, Will M. Thompson, in his "High Tide at Gettysburg," attains this lofty strain:

But who shall break the guards that wait
Before the awful face of fate?

The tattered standards of the South
Were shriveled at the cannon's mouth,
And all her hopes were desolate.

In vain the Tennessean set
His breast against the bayonet;
In vain Virginia charged and raged,
A tigress in her wrath uncaged,
Till all the hill was red and wet!

Above the bayonets mixed and crossed
Men saw a gray, gigantic ghost
Receding through the battle cloud,
And heard across the tempest loud
The death cry of a nation lost!

The brave went down! Without disgrace
They leaped to ruin's red embrace;
 They only heard fame's thunder wake,
 And saw the dazzling sunburst break
In smiles on Glory's bloody face!

They fell who lifted up a hand!
And bade the sun in heaven to stand;
 They smote and fell who set the bars
 Against the progress of the stars,
And stayed the march of Motherland!

They stood who saw the future come
On through the fight's delirium;
 They smote and stood who held the hope
 Of nations on that slippery slope,
Amid the cheers of Christendom!

God lives! He forged the iron will,
That clutched and held that trembling hill!
 God lives and reigns! He built and lent
 The heights for Freedom's battlement,
Where floats her flag in triumph still!

Fold up the banners! Smelt the guns!
Love rules. Her gentler purpose runs,
 A mighty mother turns in tears
 The pages of her battle years,
Lamenting all her fallen sons!

ADDENDA.

NOTE A.

On page 14 it is stated that there was little fellowship between the negro and the Pennsylvania-German elements of our local citizenship. I believe this is a continuing condition. It is not inconsistent with the historical fact that the Mennonites of Germantown were the first American Abolitionists; and that their deliverance of February 18, 1868, antedated like action by the Friends. Professor Wilkinson in his so-called "Vindication of Daniel Webster," recently published, is authority for the statement that Charles Sumner's social aversion to the colored race was as pronounced as his political sympathy with it.

NOTE B.

On page 27 it is stated upon information that William Parker was a soldier in the war for the Union. I have not been able to absolutely verify this statement. It is therefore qualified.

NOTE C.

On page 59 it is noticed that the venire issued to the marshal commanding him to return 108 jurors for the term of the treason trial included a provision that twelve were to be summoned and returned from Lancaster County. This was in conformity with the Act of September 24, 1789, known as the Federal Judicial Procedure Act, to the effect that "in cases punishable with death, the trial shall be had in the county where the offense was committed, or where that cannot be done without great inconvenience, twelve petit jurors at least shall be summoned from thence."

In a recent notable address before the American Bar Association at Boston on August 30, 1911, Ex-Justice of the United States Supreme Court Henry R. Brown called attention to the fact that the provision of this act which required the trial for a capital offense to be held in the county where it occurred had never been observed. It seems to have escaped his notice that the statutory direction as to the venue was not unequivocally imperative and that this act had been the subject of repeated judicial construction, *e. g.*, in the following cases:

"The Circuit Courts are bound to try all crimes committed within the district, but not to try them in the County where committed; that is a matter of which they must judge in the exercise of their discretion." *U. S. v. Wilson*, Bald. 117; *U. S. v. Cornell* 2 Mason 95-8; *U. S. v. Insurgents (Fries)*, 3 Dall. (Pa.) 513. In *U. S. v. Cornell* the Court

holds that the third Section of the Act of March, 1793, Chapter 22, operates as a material modification of the Act of 1789 and leaves the place of the trial in the district to the sound discretion of the judge. The Act of 1793, Chapter 22, directs that special sessions for the trial of criminal cases shall be held at any convenient place within the district nearer to the place where the offenses may be said to be committed, than the place appointed by the law for ordinary sessions.

NOTE D.

I have adopted the spelling of Sims's and Scarlet's name with a single terminal letter instead of the local and family usage—Simms and Scarlett—because they were thus formally indicted.

NOTE E.

The best information I have as to the date of William Parker's revisit to Christiana is that it was during the presidential campaign of 1872. Peter Woods says he took back with him to Canada the widow of Henry Sims—one of the defendants in the treason case; presumably he was then a widower and Mrs. Sims became his second wife.

NOTE F.

On pages 6 and 12 I have recalled the indisputable fact that Abraham Lincoln and his party distinctly recognized the legal obligation of the Fugitive Slave Law even after the war had begun. Striking confirmation of what heedless readers may be disposed to doubt is found in General William T. Sherman's "Causes of the War," cited in the *Atlantic Monthly*, for September, 1911, where Sherman says: "Mr. Lincoln after election and installation, asserted repeatedly that slavery was safe in his hands, that he was sworn to enforce even the Fugitive Slave Law and soon Congress declared it had no intention to interfere with slavery in the States."

NOTE G.

A second and revised edition of this History, substantially bound and more copiously illustrated, will be put to press shortly. The author will appreciate the correction of any errors observed in this edition—hurriedly put to press—as well as any additions to its statements of facts. Communications to this effect or orders for copies of the revised edition may be sent to Box 34, Lancaster, Pa.

IN PRISON FOR TREASON.

[One of the finest stanzas in American poetry was inspired by the imprisonment of Hanway and others for treason. While they were in Moyamensing, John G. Whittier wrote and published his "Lines" to them. Horace E. Scudder, in his excellent and complete "Cambridge edition" of Whittier, classes the following with three other poems, "called out by the popular movement of Free State men to occupy the territory of Kansas." In this he is mistaken. This poem, now entitled "For Righteousness' Sake," was originally "inscribed to Friends under arrest for treason against the slave power," and was directed especially to Hanway, Lewis and Scarlet. The concluding stanza is deeply imbedded in popular appreciation of the best in our national literature.]

The age is dull and mean. Men creep,
Not walk; with blood too pale and tame
To pay the debt they owe to shame;
Buy cheap, sell dear; eat, drink, and sleep
Down-pillowed, deaf to moaning want;
Pay tithes for soul-insurance; keep
Six days to Mammon, one to Cant.

In such a time, give thanks to God,
That somewhat of the holy rage
With which the prophets in their age
On all its decent seemings trod,
Has set your feet upon the lie,
That man and ox and soul and clod
Are market stock to sell and buy!

The hot words from your lips, my own,
To caution trained, might not repeat;
But if some tares among the wheat
Of generous thought and deed were sown,
No common wrong provoked your zeal;
The silken gauntlet that is thrown
In such a quarrel rings like steel.

The brave old strife the fathers saw
For Freedom calls for men again
Like those who battled not in vain
For England's Charter, Alfred's law;

And right of speech and trial just
• Wage in your name their ancient war
With venal courts and perjured trust.

*God's ways seem dark, but soon or late,
They touch the shining hills of day;
The evil cannot brook delay,
The good can well afford to wait.
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime;
Ye have the future grand and great,
The safe appeal of Truth to Time!*

[The End]